MOVEMENT October-December 1972
(*Labor Challenge*, Correspondence & Documents)
League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/YS-LJS

*(**Y-R**) = Young-Riddell LSA leadership politics later disputed by Dowson group—ed.*
(Voir aussi: Affiches et documents LSO-LJS 1970-1973)
**Archival Items – 'Article on file' – accessible on request from National Archives*

Editor: Dick Fidler

1972 October

1972-10Oct8	Letter to Nic, Vancouver re his sidewalk chat with Trudeau
1972-10Oct11	Notes: last Spring 1971 the entire leadership collapsed
**1972-Oct*	*LSA/LSO DB#14: Women's Liberation Resolution (PC)*
1972-10Oct23-1a	Note to self: Yesterday the PC finally passed the women's doc
1972-10Oct25-1	Note to the bureau
1972-10Oct25-2	Note to Dear Jim (M)
1972-10Oct28	Note: Politics are supreme – the truth will out – irrepressible
1972-10Oct30-1	Letter to the bureau: (critique) ``Politics on the leading body''
1972-10Oct9-lc65	NDP–Socialist answers needed–Lewis election campaign
*1972-Oct-lc65	Editorial-- Vietnam is election issue
1972-10Oct-lc65-2	***(Y-R)*** Ontario NDPers launch Left Caucus **(*Y-R)*** *= Young-Riddell LSA leadership view, later disputed by Dowson group—ed.*
1972-10Oct-lc65-3a	NDP slate for Vancouver (civic elections)
1972-10Oct-lc65-3b	Challenges face BC-NDP – Ranks should decide policy
**1972-Oct-lc65*	*Lewis's federalism isolates Quebec NDP (A. Beiner – on file)*
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**1972-Oct-lc65*	*US aim-- starve, terrorize Vietnam*
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1972-10Oct-lc65-8	LSA-LSO elects new exec-secretary
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**1972-Oct-lc65*	*Argentine murders exposed (armed radicals shot down) (file)*
1972-10Oct23-lc66	VOTE NDP! Libs, Tories no solution
1972-10Oct-lc66-2	Editorial – WMA (War Measures Act) – two years after
1972-10Oct-lc66-3	NDP must run full Toronto civic slate
1972-10Oct-lc66-4	Quebec socialist candidate speaks (Beiner-LSO)
*1972-Oct-lc66	Canada's real rôle in world affairs (Peacekeepers?) (on file)
*1972-Oct-lc66	(Y-R) MISC (ex-Waffle)-Drifting to the right? (D.F.) (on file)
1972-10Oct-lc66-6	How women can win political power (W.Johnston)
1972-10Oct-lc66-7	(LSO candidate) Condemns Argentine repression
*1972-Oct-lc66	The trials in Czechoslovakia (Soviet repression) (on file)
1972-10Oct-lc66-8	Mandel slams Newsweek lies (Fourth Int. labelled 'terrorist')
*1972-Oct-lc66	War goes on as Nixon talks peace
1972-10Oct-lc66-10	Ontario students vote for action against fee hikes
1972-10Oct-lc66-11	Big push needed to reach our goal (*LC* & *YS* sub drives)
**1972*	*LSA/LSO DB#17* ***(Y-R)*** *Canada and the crisis of world imperialism*
1972-11Nov00-1	Handwritten note to self: I was prepared to believe
**1972*	*DB#18 Statement on PC document "Canada and Crisis of World Imperialism" by Kent (RD) and Marlon (DL)*

**1972*	*DB#18 Contribution on Canada-US relations by D.L.*
1972-11Nov3a	Note to self: never a discussion on Canada-US relations
1972-11Nov3b	RD's written notes on a note to self on plenum discussion
1972-11Nov9	Note to Dear Comrades: hope the bureau has discussed letter
1972-11Nov20	Note Given to Gary (P)
1972-11Nov28-1	Submission to East Toronto Branch
1972-11Nov28-2	Note to the political bureau: motion to postpone the convention
1972-11Nov28-3	Comments on Toronto branch meeting
1972-11Nov98a	(Fragment--Page 45) "Our orientation & entrism"
1972-11Nov99a	Flyer ''NDP 72'' For a NDP municipal government (Toronto)
1972-11Nov99c	*(Undated found in Nov.)* Note to self: a letter by RD (not sent)
1972-11Nov6-lc6	HANDS OFF VIETNAM! – Voters discontent with NDP
1972-11Nov-lc67-1b	Self-determination for the Vietnamese people!
1972-11Nov-lc67-1c	The US-Hanoi Accord *(Truce in Vietnam War)*
1972-11Nov-lc67-1d	No Canadian (peacekeeping) troops to Vietnam
1972-11Nov-lc67-1e	Editorial – Election reveals disillusionment (with NDP)
1972-11Nov-lc67-3a	Program of Quebec socialist campaign (LSO) (page 1 only)
1972-11Nov-lc67-3b	Program of Quebec socialist campaign (LSO)
1972-11Nov-lc67-3c	Socialist campaign confronted Trudeau (Alain Beiner)
1972-11Nov-lc67-4a	Protests demand right to abortion
1972-11Nov-lc67-5	Developpers raping North-- Native people fight back
1972-11Nov-lc67-6a	Toronto socialists launch civic slate
1972-11Nov-lc67-7a	Crisis in Chile shakes Allende regime (ICP)

1972-11Nov-lc67-7b Photo—Injured demonstator in street riot against right wing

1972-11Nov-lc67-8a Appeal (of political prisoners) from Ceylon jail

1972-11Nov-lc67-8b Notice of meeting against 'political repression in Sri Lanka)

*1972-Nov-lc67 Lessons of the Russian Revolution (James P. Cannon) (file)

1972-11Nov20-lc68 Build antiwar movement

*1972-Nov-lc68 Build the movement – debate at student conference

1972-11Nov-lc68-2 Put program into action!

*1972-Nov-lc68 What happened in the federal election? (on file)

1972-11Nov-lc68-3 Socialists in municipal elections –Socialists fight City Hall

1972-11Nov-lc68-4a Vote Socialist, Jacquie Henderson for mayor (Toronto) flyer

1972-11Nov-lc68-4e Jacquie Henderson for mayor; Schools to serve the majority

1972-11Nov-lc68-5 Socialist in Ottawa mayoralty race

1972-11Nov-lc68-6 Editorial–Opportunities for NDP –Toronto civic election

1972-11Nov-lc68-7 Quebec students fight government repression

1972-11Nov-lc68-8 Interview with Greek Trotskyist, escaped from jail

**1972-Dec-* *LSA-LSO DB#19: Terrorism, guerrilla warfare, armed struggle (I.A.)*

**1972-Dec-* *LSA/LSO DB#20 Draft (PC) Quebec Resolution*

**1972-Dec-* *LSA/LSO DB#21: Amchitka Walkouts: Lessons & Analysis*

**1972-Dec-* *LSA/LSO DB#21 Democratic centralism and the rights of members*

**1972-Dec-* *LSA/LSO-DB#21-2 The Press: What's Now at stake by Zane Boyd*

**1972-Dec-* *LSA/LSO DB#21 Recruiting Toronto-based "Trotskyists" (M.E.) Toronto East*

**1972-Dec-* *LSA/LSO DB#22: Feminism & scientific socialism--Reply to RCT*

**1972-Dec*	*-LSA/LSO DB#23: Toronto Women's Caucus:2-years*
**1972-Dec-*	*LSA/LSO DB#23: 1968 Political (Convention) Resolution*
**1972-Dec-*	*LSA/LSO DB#24: Further notes on Gay Liberation (J. Bannon)*
**1972-Dec-*	*LSA/LSO DB#34: On the Quebec discussion: J.L., LSO*
**1972-Dec-*	*LSA/LSO DB#46: Draft PC-YR-Quebec Resolution*
**1972-Dec-*	*LSA/LSO DB#54: Collapse of our work in NDP by H.Knight*
1972-12Dec3	Report on Waffle-MISC forums, critique of LSA by Z.B.
1972-12Dec8-1	Note to self: I have read the draft of the intro 34 pages
1972-12Dec8-2a	RD handwritten note, re possible RCMP planted flyer
1972-12Dec8-2b	provocateur planted flyer ‘’Loyalty to the International means loyalty to the Canadian Section’’
1972-12Dec11	Note to the bureau (it should be to the PC)
1972-12Dec12-1	Note to the bureau: I would like to discuss the matter….
1972-12Dec13-1a	Note to self: It is now necessary to stop and try to assess
1972-12Dec31	Note to self: Why have John R and Phil come up to see me
1972-12Dec11-lc69	No Canadian troops to Indochina!
1972-Dec-lc69	US planning to stay in South Vietnam
1972-Dec-lc69	November 18 protests
1972-12Dec-lc69-2	Women press struggle in B C-NDP
1972-12Dec-lc69-3	***(Y-R)*** Editorial – Ontario NDP convention
1972-12Dec-lc69-4	Socialist (civic) election campaigns reached thousands
1972-12Dec-lc69-4c	Ireland repression denounced by LSA mayoralty candidate
1972-12Dec-lc69-5	'Reformers' sweep Toronto (as NDP abstains)
1972-12Dec-lc69-6	Ottawa (civic) campaign posed socialist alternative

1972-12Dec-lc69-7 North York women fight for childcare

1972-12Dec-lc69-8a Abortion fight in Germany

1972-12Dec-lc69-8c In brief-- French abortion struggle mounts

1972-12Dec-lc69 Special holiday offer – radical book clearance

*1972-Dec-lc69 Native paper threatened (Akwasasne Mohawks) (on file)

*1972-Dec-lc69 Why (ex-President) Peron's return to Argentina? (on file)

1972-12Dec-lc69-11 Hugo Blanco, peasant leader exiled to Chile

1972-12Dec-lc69-11 Land or Death—The peasant struggle in Peru

1972-12Dec25-lc70 Canada helps U.S. in Vietnam blackmail

1972-12Dec-lc70-2 Editorials – Speak up, Mr. Lewis – No more hangings!

*1972-Dec-lc70 Peaceful co-existence or world revolution (Trotsky) (on file)

*1972-Dec-lc70 Labor takes power in Australia, N.Z. (antiwar photo) (file)

1972-12Dec-lc70-3a *(Y-R)* (Former Waffle leader) Laxer outlines MISC strategy

1972-12Dec-lc70-4a Left Caucus wins increased support at Ontario NDP

1972-12Dec-lc70-5 NDP only alternative (reformers sweep Vancouver)

1972-12Dec-lc70-6a Marilyn Monroe & Zelda Fitzgerald after first breakdown

1972-12Dec-lc70-6b Women and insanity by Katie Curtin

1972-12Dec-lc70-7 Women's struggle is international – Europe, Quebec

1972-12Dec-lc70-8 Anti-cutback (student) fight broadens

1972-12Dec-lc70-9 Workers occupy Quebec factory (textile strike)

1972-99-1 (undated) Pamphlet: Behind the coup in Chile (Vanguard Pub.)

*1972-99 (undated) FI statement: Nature of Allende's government (7 pp) (on file)

Tuesday October $(?◊ 1972
Toronto

Vancouver

Dear Nic

You came through lou$ and clear down this way. I am sending you the two main photos the press has been unsing just in case one or the other wasn't picked up in Vancouver.

Wh y dont you get them mounted. I am sure the nwsphoto people would give you a glossy print of them both---after all you provided them the action. It was certainly worth a lot to the Tories . Some reports try to play down the Vietnam angle, including Trudeau...in a meeting in Ontario somewhwre he tried to make out that what he said to you was str ictly between you and himself and you went and stodlied on him by telling the press. Which shows to go you that you cannot even trust a primemini ster who you get to talk to while walking along the streets.

comradely

Ross Dow son

Notes Oct 4/72

Last Spring 1971 this leadership--the entire leadership collapsed only Dennis Lomax artticulated expressed an evaulation--he contended that the leadership dast aside the masscaction orientation, capitaluted to ultra leftist pressures. He submitted a dcoument calling for a new leadership. This document was ignored on the LSA/LSO level JR found it on file upon his return from Europe--when he confronted JS with it--JR already in Montreal--JS thought it to be of no sigmfnicance althpugh on March 27 last night Zen Boyd told me that htere was an extensive discussion on it on the youth leadership plane in Toronto with Jacquie being one of those most desiring a discussion. It apparently went no where but particulary it did not go into the LSA/L SO--I propoeed it be circulated and it was--on the CC level. It ended there althoug prior to the plenum Gary, and particularly Mary True wanted to have an open discu sion on this problem. I was instrumental in having this blocked. John R who had sat on the sidelines during the criris packing to go to Montreal assignment drew up a comment on it but it didn't in anyway satisfay Jacquie. I felt that a discussion on this whole experience could not go anywhere--particulary as it involved everyone of the leadership. We happened also to be in a factional struggle with the Maritimes comrades which further inhibited me from opening this door.

It is now obvious in the light of Manon's information with regards to Phil's promoting the Quebec NC stand to drop the labor party and his position of entry into the PQ(supported by Jean H) that this same leader ship collpased again--in the process of my pulling out and pushing them forward. Dick and Gary on the drafting of the political resolution--- this was a matter of inability to come to grips with the problems it posed--John S taking it up and in his draft presenting a national liberationist concept placing Cdn nationalism and the struggle for an independent Canda on the identical plane as the struggle of the Quebecois. Phil as noted above. Jacquie pulled together a useful womens liberation draft but Gary proved unable to meet her demands for aid and I moved in on her request. John R in my opinion did nothing to block this disintegration No 2nd it would have been very difficult anyway--but on the contrary JR inadvertently expedited it. They were collpasing and upon his arrival collapsed on his shoulders. Unfortunately h appears to see me as the problem--at anyrate he has no only covered up the collapse which is understandable but developed a line - that there is a longstanding root problem--problem of method.

John has dumped this in a personal conversation with me and then with Stu's challenge re my being chairman John stated that there i s no methodological problem--Jacquie talked about not dumpning a leader ship for one mistake--did not say that I had made a mistake on Cdn nationalism but that was the implication. or was it.

Is there some light ahead as the tendency continues to meke headway against this leadership.

The collapse of this leadership is I think increasinlgy obvious to the at least the Toronto membership. I do not know how the situation is read in Edmonton, Vancouver. There is pressure on me to intervene in a more political way. I have beensitting back in general. Of course there has been an absence of political discussion which would permit a serious intervention

John R handed me a note at the Oct 1/72 PC meet to effect that Stu had joined tandem — that the leadership had had its dance - a whole series of meet discussions + had convinced him otherwise

October 23. 1972

Yesterday the PC meeting finally passed the women's liberation document as ammended. The first political discussion on the PC for many meetings. Many persons know or feel that this leadership has dumped the slogan every mother a willing mother, every child a wanted child, although only a few wweks ago, when they raised the matter, they in fact established it as a useful slogan, not as thoroughly feminist as the right to chose and a slogan that we must see to it does not dominate our work as they allege it has in the past. Now they are committed to establish a new line--that the slogan is a false one. Jacquie presented the line of the bureau. Bea made a presentation followed up by Regual; both were excellent . A little later Dennis came through with an excellent contribution. Dick's intervention hotted the situation up, tended to factionalize the atmosphere, inhibit an honest exchange of opinion by scoring deabters points . At the beginning of my contribution Jacquie started her interupptions but I cut her off and turned my contribution into an interpertration of Dennis(Bea' and Regual's contributions. I feel that the arguments of those opposed to the characterizing of this slogan as false were extremely convincing. Coral was convinced. John R's contribution was suprising - an injection of a lot of side issues, erudite and diverting in support of Jacquie's report. The line up became obvious --five to seven. What is this leadership thinking? Stue of the tendency was not there. I sensed some waffling--Phil was in the chair--Jacquie assured us that she wanted the ammendments voted for as a whole. This is the first time this leadership had really faced an articulated rounded opposition--they have been convinicing themselves in their own circle. The temptation of splitting the ammendments rose before me--it might just have divided them or caused them to postpone a vote if we had tried to carry a vote on the dumping of the slogan, how ever the ammemdments as a whole are wrong and mark a retreat from the abortion campaign as Regual explained and we I or someone is going to have to take them on as a whole. They carried the vote--for some reaosn Regual decided to abstain so it was 7-4-1. So now every document that had been presented for the convention has either been withdrawn or drastically revised. This is the only document from the leadership at this stage--the conven ion is January first week--the discussion has been opened again with a new call and the women(s liberation document--oh yes along with Art's report on the world movement - are the only documents . What is the leadership thinking ? They held firm altho Penny came ove to express doubts says dennis
So the debate in the movement is now fated to open up on what in reality is a secondary matter. Not all bad however because a lot of our activists are highly involved in the area, have had experiences and feel as women that they have to inter vene--to stand up and be counted This can be a big discussion. Is the leadership going to stand up to the ultra left elements in the movement who will support the ammedments with clear ultra left argumen ts? A real test.

It is hard to grasp why the leacdership has carried through these ammedments--the moves first taken on the plenum level and now these further ammedments, Do they really think that these ammedments aid us in our womens liberation work. Is there really an unease and disorien'ation within the movement as to why we have not been able to build a mass movement--more so than over why we have not been able to build a mass movement on Vietnam. I do not sense this as a serious problem--at anyrate they dont answer it --they just say that we should expect to be able--no expalantion in reality. I think th ere is a much more serious problem now for they have compounded any unease with the ammemdments which it seems clear to me take us away from the mass action perspective. Furthermore they themselves must be uneasy. A big vote in the leading body against them and they can be sure there will be some considerable oppostion in the Toronto branches --over a really quite unimportant matter.in itself. Can there be any doubt in anyone's mind that this discussion will further undermine the authority of the leadership--the bureau, What can they be thinking?

----George A came upstairs for a talk on the paper before the meeting. He has heard that I am opposed the to line of the paper on the NDP and the unions and now in the latest issue to Dick on the Misc operation. I told him how I had started to write a letter to the editor on the union-NDP matter on the basis of Marv's article--had no sooner written it when I read Dick's article that compounds it so I decided to not turn it over. Besides I did not see how the chairman of the movement could write a letter to the

editor in his own name and probably not in a pseudonym which would soon become known among the comrades and cause considerable unease. I opened the door to the idea that on some matters we might consider having contributions to the discussion. But we did not come to any understanding other than that there should be a discussion on the press at the bureau. I told him that my letter of August 14 had been a warning of what I feared was happening and that it had unfortunatly proven correct--that we have dumped the 1968 document on Canada-US relations by just not dealing with the whole matter in issue after issue . George at first challenged this and then more or less conceded it. He commented on his and Dick's unwillingness to handle it. Then we talked about the article on the Waffle MISC el ction statement. I told him that in Dick's article we have planted the label nationalist on what we used to call an anti US imperialist sentiment and then attacked it as bourgeois nationalist--as if bourgeois nationalist and nationalist were the same thing at the plenum the vote clearly failed to do that by added the word"bourgeois". I told him that in my mind the article by Dick was a big mistake-that it would only alienate MISC supporters from us--not influence them in a positive way at all. You had to start off with an appreciate of what MISC is composed of--in mym ind militants who have gone through an NDP experience and reject it in their mind for left reasons--that it did not come to grips with what they consider the key questionsx-growing US economic domination of Canada--in this framework they see us as conservative and tailist to the NDP. This article is clerlay designed to vindicate us. It even explicitly says so in the parapgrpah that reads--" A reading of the election special confirms the correctness of those who criticized t e formation of MISC as a retreat from class struggle politicis through the NDP." I told George that I appreciated his difficulties for the 1968 document had in reality been dumped and nothing put in its place as a guide--not yet even a draft statement for the convention three months away. I told him that I thought that it was very bad that I had not been invited to a discus— sion on the MISC statement so that the article could have the benefit of my view and possibly approximate something more of a compromise.

Where is this going

John R redrafted the letter to Red Circle completely in line with my suggestions. I wonder how this went with Dick. What will Stue have to say about how Dick's report which was certainly in line with the first draft became transfoemd into something altogether different by the letter writers to Red Circle.

to the bureau

October 25, 1972

Somewhile back I raised the necessity of setting up an adminstrative committee ~~that~~ I felt it was urgent that res:onsible and leading comrades should be assigned to collaborate with various departments of the movement so that the leadership would have constant touch with them, see that appropriate forces were allocated to them etc etc. Since first raising it I have brought to leading comrades attention ~~the~~ that I considered to be an extreme urgency to act along this line in respect to Crescent and Action Press. I was told that there was agreement on this matter but that it was not possible to act until after the convention or at least until documentation was better underway. Possibly the matter as a whole can even at some cost be let ride for a while longer, however I do not think that the Crescent and Action Press operations can.

I think we are ~~im~~imminenent danger of liquidating Action Press by default. It appears to me that there is now no one playing even a holding role, a sustiaining role in Action Press. Comrades have access to Action Press, its files and materials built up at great cost in time and actual funds by the movement who are in no way qualified to have this access. It seems clear to me that comrade Angus ~~is~~ no longer sees himself in anyw real way responsible for this operation--that he has made a decisive turn out of Action Press. It is therefore urgent that some comrade be i mediately assigned responsibility for this area, even though this comrade may not be completely satsifactory, until such time that the leaderships ~~at~~ proper attention can be given to one of the most precious assets of our movement.

-- Some comrades have told me that there is not a proper understanding of the great importance political importance--of Crescent in the movement, and in fact in top layers of the leadership of the movement. When I say Crescent I mean the bookstroe too as they are interlocked. I think that that is true. You will recall it is only a year or so ago that two leading comrades handling both Crescent and the store were found to be on the verge of unilaterally liquidating the bookstore operation. That was halted. I understand that a leading comrade just a short while ago approached domrade Sloan to go on the document typing pool. I understand that just a few days ago comrades on a slightly lower layer of leadership had comrade Sloan slated to be assistant organizer . ~~Thim~~ Comrade Sloan herself already has several very important assignemtns over and above her assignments as responsible for both the booksotre and Crescent. The fact that comrade Sloan is approached by various components of the leadership to take on new tasks of various types is itself proof that there is not a correct appreciation of the importance of these two projects not only in the life of the oronto revolutionary socialist movement but our pan Canadian movement. Neither of these two operations even now have had sufficient forces assigned to them. I feel that it necessary to oncede however that possibly comrade Soan herself has not a proper assessment of the importance of these op rations--or there could not be an atmosphere that makes it possible for leading comrades to make these various propositions with regards to her time and energy. I would tell you how on the basis of my connections with both Crescent and the store that they have been for a longtime holding operations. Due to the extreme pressure of the work of these operations comrade Sloan has been unable to develop as in anyway a really competent operator of the store--the bookstore has continued to deteriorate since comrade Newbigging withdrew from it when we made the move from Yonge Street to Queen. I have attributed this in respect to comrade Sloan who is an intelligent and energetic comrade to the limits of her time and energy. However it is now possible largely due to our own neglect as a leadership that comrade Sloan is seeking new challenges in the movement--and is making herself open to moving in new directions. There is nothing wrong in this except that we cannot allow the Crescent-Vanguard bookstore operation to be jeopardized. I think that it is necessary for the bureau to immediately have some frank discussions with ~~tim~~ comrade Brian and Coral --to assess the situation as best it can and come to some understandi g with comrade Sloan (after making cystal clear its own position as to the role of Crecent -Vanguard in the political life of our entire movement) as to her role in this operation and other aspects of the movemen s work.

I think there should be a report on these two matters at a coming meeting of the PC

Dear Jim

Oct. 25/72

Do not propose that I move down into the day nursery, now document, room.
I could not let myself replace or push aside the corpse of a day nursery that I think is essential for us to have in our headquarters. I do not agree at all with your comment that comrades who have children are ~~xxx~~ responsible for them in the sense that we are not prepred in anyway to make it possible for them once having had them to play any real role in our movement. Our movement ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ seeks to be a mass movement of working class men and women, who are marrying and having babies and must be able to participate in our movement. Your view which I know was acted along at the Metro conven ion and is bieng acted upon by the CO during documenta
Incidently I have raised the whole matter of Action Press in a personal letter to the bureau. I hope it meets and is acquianted with my opinions before you get discussing with them on space allocation

~~is a retreat for our movement~~

Maybe we should keep the room in the apartment as it is when I get new living quarters... and possibly there are other variants.

I must say I appreciate your personal talk with me yesterday—although it disturbs me that the new leadership is only able to communicate in quite a different way with me.

Ross

(Politics are Supreme — the truth will out — irrepressible. Oct 28/72

I have been following a policy that has proven impossible in real life. Dick's article on MISC proves this. Zane's comments also show this--brought me up to a realization. Dennis' desire to write in, also! nationalism
I have been trying to hold onto the 1968 document.
This is like someone trying to hold onto the Communist Manifesto not in 1848 but today in the age of permanent revolution 1972.
Theoretically it is correct to try to hold onto 1968 because it contains all the necessary materials--it is a document we now realize of great insight. But no matter—the phenomena that it deals with has taken on new dynamics and the trouble is that standing by itself it is inadequate. We need to move out—forward.

This leadership has been ignorantly attacking some of the key aspects of our Communit Manifesto. I have contented myself with trying to hold onto our CM. When they attacked the CM they also attacked the method of the CM. That firmed me up to more rigidly dfeend the CM because the method is even more important in itself

When JR told me that the method was ok that the plenum had been wrong on this I expected that they would move back onto the 1968 document. They have not done so and have tended to waffle back towards attacking the method. But the probkem is that you can't stadd any longer on 1968

The problem is that you cannot defend the method of 1968 or 1968 itself without moving forward which we did last spring when we wrote the memorandum which accepted the word nationalism. It was more than accepting a word--I did not fully understand this --shpwn by the fact that we didn't and I didn't think it necessary to really supply some new documentation but that was absolutely necessary to move out - forward with the 1968 document-but onwards.

I accepted John's admission that they had been all wrong on their attacks on the method (in secret). I accepted the knowledge that he and Dick also said that 1968 was fundamentally firm (in secret). x
There is no question that they meant everything that they said.
But they could not hold to these secret positions because they oppsed the necessary advance forward with 1968 in hand. Instead of declaring what they said to me puublicly they pushed the whole matter underground and as we comtinued to publish the paper above all in aperiod of continued US take over and greater public politics due to the elections they buried 1968. But it cant be buried x

Of course what happened in the youth is a turning point...but it should have been expected as Zane tried to tell me--that the situation was explosive and had to come out. It came out against the 1968 line when it should have come out with our aid at an advance forward on our line.
Dick's article on MISC proves this and when I got down to write 1 st night it became obvious. I had been disoriented by his use of the word "blantant" before nationlaism. when he described the MISC statement and quite accurately showed that the conclusions of this nationalism w re revolutionary--only the trapping weren't in his opinion. MISC comtinued to stand on nationalization...I am sure there is confusuon among them—see the headline to the article as the silly way Dick ends up handling MISC.
MISC points up most clearly the problem--all the more since these people moved out of the NDP which gave them a mask a cover of working class politics.

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October 30, 1972, Toronto

To the bureau
(from Ross Dowson)

Comrades;

Politics on the leading body of our movement are in the gravest danger of becoming a numbers game. When RD comes up one can almost see the automatic reflexes to an impulse programmed – anything goes. This response is becoming more prevalent when it comes to anyone who might be thought to show any receptivity to anything that RD says, and to SS who has declared himself a supporter of the RCT. Meetings tend more and more to take on a staged character, with testimonials, claques* and all. *(*Websters: "a group of admiring or fawning admirers" –ed.*

We have a situation of increasing polarization on the leading body of the movement which sets the pace for the whole movement when we are only one month into the pre-convention discussion and when the key documents have not yet come up for even preliminary discussion and adoption by the PC. A feeling of foreboding about the success of the convention to build our movement would seem to be legitimate.

In my some 38 years in the Trotskyist movement and participation in other sections of the working class movement, those polluted by the CCF and trade union bureaucracy and even those poisoned by Stalinism, I cannot recall experiencing the situation that prevailed in the political committee meetings of the LSA/LSO on October 15 and again on October 29. The atmosphere in those meetings might have born a little similarity to several that I have attended that were the culmination of a long struggle over what were considered matters of a principled character and a (when) decisive split took place *(a possible reference to the acrimonious debate with the Canadian supporters of Pablo in the international debate of the 1950s – ed.)*

At those two meetings of the PC it seemed clear to me that it quickly became impossible to have a serious political discussion – even an exposition of ideas, let alone an exchange that could possibly lead to a synthesis in the interests of the movement to which we have all dedicated our lives to build.

It was following the October 15 meeting that I felt it necessary to conclude that I was unable to attend the United Secretariat meeting or any other meeting of the FI *(Fourth International, in Europe)* as a representative of the Canadian section, as it has become obvious that I do not even have the good will of leading comrades on the PC let alone their political confidence.

The October 22 meeting contained the same tensions but fortunately for the first time in a long while, though there were differences on the women's liberation document amendments which resulted in a 7 to 5 division, my faith was reaffirmed. Although comrades will recall that rather than make a contribution, which I felt was unnecessary in the light of other comrades' contributions, I limited myself to attempting to interpret certain aspects of those contributions

that I thought were misinterpreted.

The October 29 meeting (I had expressed confidence that I would be able to make some positive contribution coming out of my memorandum on the press to the organizational secretary in a personal conversation just before it took place) was in my opinion an outrage, and in violation of all our concepts of democracy and leadership. If I laughed when the organizational secretary approached me after the meeting to say that he too would have walked out of that meeting if he were I, it was certainly not to ridicule comrade Porter's expression of concern. It was because of the extreme bitterness and disappointment that I felt – all the greater in the face of my hopes and illusions of a few hours previous. The words team-leadership, and transfer of leadership, the idea of a history of our movement which I have been asked to write, all have indeed become bitter and hollow concepts.

I am not referring to the situation that was so hot that I felt there was no alternative but to leave the meeting – it was either leave or blow up the whole meeting in a way that could have had irremediable results. It would be false to think in terms of any one incident or to blame any one comrade. The tension, the fuel for the explosion was there from the very opening of the meeting. The discussion, as it progressed took on several forms – flippant and derogatory attacks on the RCTendency, that could only serve to provoke SS and result in the feeding of new forces into its circle of influence, cheap debater's points and arguments that I can only consider wilful and malicious misinterpretations and twistings of what I ventured to say on several matters ranging from the thrust of our politics in response to the settlement being imposed on the Vietnamese, the nature of the actions that we should consider initiating, our press coverage of the NDP federal election campaign etc. etc., and the treatment of another leading activist in the movement.

It is no longer sufficient to express concern and personal protest to individual leaders who are on the PC – it is necessary to take this matter up openly as best we can on some level of the leading bodies of the movement. If we do not do so the political committee will have to be pronounced dead.

It is necessary for you to come to grips with this matter immediately. You have the leadership and you have the responsibility to lead. For my part I would have you know that I am prepared to consider giving up the post as chairman which you gave me only a month or so ago, and of course to consider any other proposition that you may make involving me.

In the interests of Canadian and World Trotskyism,

Ross Dowson – October 30, 1972

The real cause of spiralling prices-5

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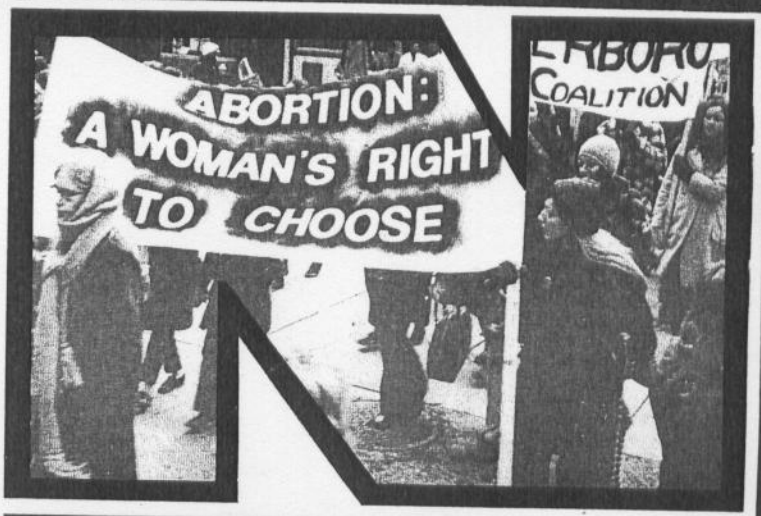
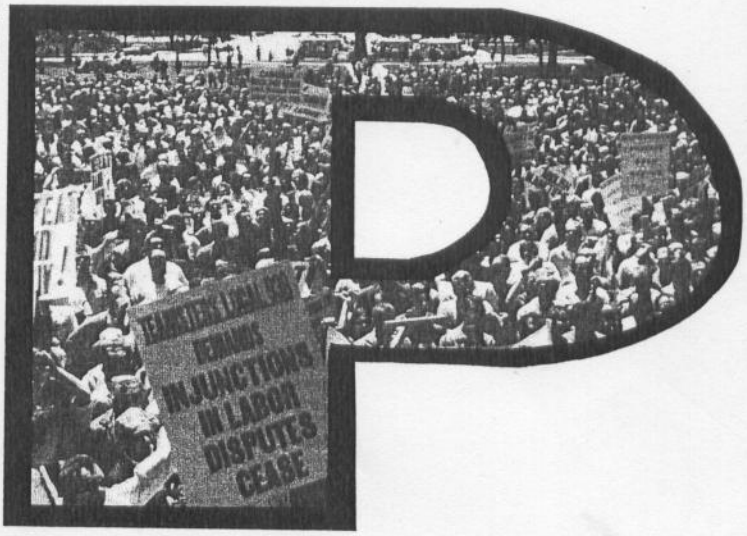
Lewis campaign:

Socialist answers needed





by THE EDITORS

As the election campaign enters the final weeks, the cross-country campaign of the New Democratic Party is maintaining a powerful momentum.

Federal leader David Lewis's denunciations of "corporate welfare bums" and the thoroughly anti-working class tax system has put all the capitalist parties on the defensive, identifying the NDP as the real opposition to the Liberal government.

Because it speaks to the real inequalities and resentments of a great many Canadians, the NDP's campaign theme has struck a responsive note in popular consciousness. It is a clear issue which reveals the NDP's fundamental class differences from the capitalist parties — which have been faithfully serving the "corporate bums" since the railway promotion scandals of the last century.

Lewis's campaign theme has served to knit together and inspire the ranks of the NDP, countering the demoralization among many party activists arising from the leadership's moves against the party's left wing in Ontario during the spring and summer. Ironically, in doing so Lewis and the leadership have had to do what that same left has long advocated, and the party tops have long resisted: to draw a clear class line between the NDP and the other parties.

The corporate bums theme has also undermined and cut across the phony themes Trudeau and the Tories are trying to inject into the campaign. Trudeau's "national integrity" rings hollow when set against the solid dossiers the NDP is piling up against the giant monopolies that run the economy and governments of this country, their bloated coffers swelled by the tax ripoff of the working people.

In other ways, too, the NDP campaign reflects the radicalization of many sectors of Canadian society. Lewis has identified with demands of native people that the Indian Affairs department be "abolished" and replaced with an agency in which native peoples have "real representation." Natives, he says, should be given adequate funds "to devise their own solution" to their problems.

Challenged as to the party's position on women's rights, Lewis has called for repeal of the anti-abortion provisions of the criminal code. At packed meetings in prairie towns, the NDP leader has

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denounced the exploitation of small farmers by big agribusiness corporations. He has pointed to the role of giant monopoly land and construction developers in making Canadian residential rents among the highest in the world.

The NDP is thereby speaking to and for a potential coalition of many social layers and oppressed groups within Canadian society who are beginning to organize and mobilize independently against their oppression. All of these elements have every interest in the overturn of the Trudeau administration, and the election of an NDP government committed to a far-reaching program of fundamental anticapitalist measures. The potential and power of such a coalition of protest, built along class lines, was revealed in British Columbia where the 20-year reign of Social Credit was ended by the landslide election of an NDP government.

In one important area, Quebec, the radicalization has largely bypassed the NDP. The unprecedented alienation of the Quebecois masses from the federal regime is a profoundly important phenomenon. Their national revolt — that of an industrialized

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proletarianized and oppressed nation in the heartland of imperialism — promises to shake the structures of Canadian and North American capitalism to their roots. As we show elsewhere in this issue, the NDP leadership is unable to come to grips with this sentiment which challenges so acutely their ultimate commitment to the existing Canadian capitalist state.

In general, however, the NDP is speaking to the issues. But is it posing the answers? That is the key question now before the party.

What does the NDP propose in place of the corporate capitalist ripoff? The Lewis leadership have not hesitated to suggest public ownership of specific companies — nationalization of the Canadian Pacific Railway, "takeover" of International Nickel (if Inco can't justify layoffs), creation of a "Crown-owned" drug company to compete in the private sector, etc.

But the party must go much further than these often-ambiguous and very limited proposals, to pose an overall socialist alternative. Rather than waiting for audiences to pry reluctant acknowledgement of positive planks in the program from party leaders, the NDP must unequivocally solidarize with all the ongoing social struggles of oppressed layers. In the first place, it must reply to antilabor attacks from the capitalist politicians with a firm identification with labor's cause.

Using the public interest in the party generated by the corporate bums exposures, the NDP can speak out on the other big questions of national and international policy — including the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, and Canada's membership in the nuclear alliances NATO and NORAD (which the NDP is pledged by convention decision to oppose).

By clarifying the issues and presenting a fundamental anticapitalist alternative to broad layers of the population — including the very large numbers of still uncommitted voters, many of them workers cynical about big business politics — the NDP can use this campaign to make a qualitative leap forward in all areas: electoral support, membership and politicization of labor and popular struggles.

The NDP campaign can help win new layers of workers to the struggle for socialism in Canada.

The NDP ranks must challenge the leadership to respond to this potential of the campaign.

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Ont. NDPers launch Left Caucus

by MARK GANS

More than 150 supporters of the Left Caucus — almost double what caucus organizers expected — gathered in Toronto Sept. 22-23 to hammer out a socialist platform for the NDP as an alternative to the party's current liberal-reformist program.

Most of the delegates came from Toronto, but Windsor, Peterborough, St. Catharines, Ottawa, Sudbury, Thunder Bay, Oshawa, Hamilton, and other Ontario centers were also represented.

When the conference disbanded, the caucus had a platform, plans for a steering committee and a newsletter, and a strategy for taking its platform to the party ranks.

It was the first meeting of the Ontario Left Caucus since its founding at the final Waffle conference in London last August. It was started by Wafflers determined to "stay and fight" the Lewis leadership on a class struggle program rather than follow former Waffle leaders Jim Laxer and Mel Watkins out of the party and into the nationalist Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada.

Some of the issues upon which Left Caucus supporters resolved to stay and fight include:

The right of Quebec to self-determination: The right wing leadership refuses to accord Quebec the elementary democratic right of self-determination, consciously avoided extending solidarity to striking Quebec workers last spring, and bureaucratically blocked the Quebec NDP's attempts to bring the NDP program into conformity with the national aspirations of the Quebecois people.

Public ownership of the primary sectors of the economy: The right wing believes in the utopian notion that capitalists can be "regulated" and "controlled" and made to serve the community while the real basis of their power — their ownership of property — goes unchallenged.

Support for international revolutionary struggles: The party accepts the myth, fostered by the ruling class, that Canada can play a "neutral" role in the worldwide conflict between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. The caucus says Canadian and United Nations alleged "peacekeeping" efforts are maneuvers to maintain the status quo for the world imperialist powers, including Canada. The caucus calls upon the NDP to, among other things, express solidarity with oppressed people everywhere, call for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces and an end to Canada's complicity in Vietnam, break with imperialist alliances like NATO, NORAD, and the OAS, and support socialist dissidents in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

STEVE PENNER. Former NDP candidate now in Left Caucus

Support for Women's Liberation: The caucus wants the party to implement its generally solid Waffle-inspired program on women, and to identify with and support all women's liberation struggles around abortion, daycare, equal pay for equal work, and other issues.

Defense of Working Class Rights and Support for Workers' Struggles. The caucus labor program calls on the NDP to oppose all forms of wage restraints and controls and to protect unions from any kind of state interference. It wants the NDP to promote a legislated cost-of-living bonus for all wage workers and pensioners, as well as a legislated 32-hour work week at the same takehome pay. It demands that the party support the day-to-day struggles of workers against their employers.

The labor plank, in particular, is a reflection of the caucus' concern that the party leadership wants to abandon the NDP's traditional identification with the labor movement. On several occasions, caucus supporters angrily noted the party bureaucracy's support for federal legislation breaking the B.C. dock strike, the refusal to extend solidarity to the Quebec general strikers last spring, and the limited character of the labor reforms of the Manitoba and B.C. NDP governments.

"Equivocating on the rights of the working class can undermine the NDP's working class base," Stu Sinclair, a trade unionist from Douglas Aircraft UAW local 1967 warned the conference.

"The party is trying to buy sham respectibility by 'hiding' its working class base," Sinclair said. "It can't

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MARG MACINTOSH. On Left Caucus Steering Committee

be done and, more important, it shouldn't be done. A party which claims roots among the poor and working people has to clearly and unhesitatingly identify with them by developing politics and campaigns which appeal to them if it hopes to go anywhere."

To dramatize its concerns, the caucus will press for NDP mass action campaigns against strikebreaking and against plant layoffs and shutdowns at the December ONDP convention. If the party brass still refuses to move, caucus organizers say they will mobilize support among party members for riding-sponsored conferences and demonstrations independent of the bureaucracy.

Though largely composed of former Wafflers, and though it raises many of the same issues as did the Waffle, the Left Caucus differs in several significant ways from its predecessor.

Unlike the Waffle, for example, it stresses the struggle for socialism rather than for independence, and it talks about class struggle rather than nationalism. When caucus supporters refer to Canada, it is most often in relation to its ruling class's imperialist connections and overseas investments. Where Wafflers used to bemoan the fate of Canada as a "colony" of the U.S. many caucus supporters condemn it rather as a "junior partner" of U.S. imperialism.

Where the Waffle had its focus outside the party and tended to operate in its own name, Left Caucus strategy calls for mass work through the NDP at the riding and trade union level.

Finally, the caucus is organized more loosely and is less publicly-defined than the old Waffle. The Toronto conference decided to organize the provincial caucus around little more than a steering committee elected by local caucuses, themselves based on the ridings, and a newsletter intended for distribution within the party.

The future for the Left Caucus appears promising. Interest in its development to date, reflected in unexpectedly large turnouts at its two initial meetings, would seem to indicate that the sentiment which produced the Waffle remains in the NDP, waiting to be tapped.

The extend to which the caucus taps that sentiment and organizes it depends on the extent to which its supporters sink roots into the ridings during the current election campaign, how carefully they prepare for the ONDP convention in December, and how effectively they reweavé their connections with sympathetic ex-Wafflers and party members across the province and, ultimately, across the country.

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NDP slate for Vancouver

by RACHEL WOODHOUSE

VANCOUVER, Oct. 3 — A large and enthusiastic majority of the more than 150 people attending the convention of the Vancouver Area Council (VAC) of the NDP today voted to field a full slate of candidates in the city's December elections. This landmark decision means that the NDP will be directly challenging the big business interests which control Vancouver — the first time that the NDP has fielded a full slate in a B.C. civic election.

The full slate decision taken by the Vancouver NDP is another reflection of the growing radicalization in B.C., which found concrete expression in the clear mandate given to the NDP in the recent provincial election. More and more people are recognizing the need for a party to fight for the interests of working people and oppressed sectors of the population, around a common program and on every level of government.

The NDP VAC convention saw a last ditch attempt by members and supporters of COPE (a local election machine maintained by popular alderman Harry Rankin with a reform program for city hall) to derail the entry of a full NDP slate. They argued for leaving slots open for Rankin and other "reform-minded individuals." COPE, in spite of avowed support for unity on the left, has stated that its program differs little from that of the NDP but now apparently plans to run its own full slate in opposition to labor's party.

The NDP nominated Brian Campbell, a former Company of Young Canadians organizer and a university lecturer in sociology, to run for mayor. Aldermanic candidates include Al Peterson, a regional representative for the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union; Cliff Andstein, an economist; Bob Douglas, a B.C. Hydro engineer; Amy Dalgleish, an accountant; and Peter Dent, a community worker. Seven school board and eight parks board candidates were also nominated. The slate will be filled out at another convention on October 15 which will finalize various aspects of NDP civic policy.

The building of the NDP as a serious political force on the civic level is a vital part of the struggle to oust the capitalist parties from power not only on the local and provincial levels, but federally. The Vancouver NDP civic election campaign will root the labor party even deeper in the daily struggles of the working people.

labor Challenge #65 Oct 1972

Ranks should decide policy

Challenges face B.C. NDP

by JOAN NEWBIGGING

VANCOUVER, Oct. 1 — The ranks of the B.C. NDP and the labor movement have entered into an intensive process of political discussion and debate around the program and priorities they want the newly-elected NDP government to implement.

Who will determine what the labor-based government is going to do — the cabinet or the party convention. What role is the government going to play? Will it content itself to follow in the footsteps of Ed Schreyer's liberal course in Manitoba, or will it use its powerful mandate to champion the struggles of the labor movement and the oppressed in B.C.?

Next month's conventions of the B.C. Federation of Labor and the B.C. NDP will provide an opportunity for the ranks to get a firm grip on such vital policy questions.

Premier Barrett has called a special fall session of the legislature to take up pressing items like the repeal of sections of the anti-labor Mediation Commission Act (Bill 33) and raising the monthly pension for senior citizens to $200. The NDP government is also considering raising the minimum wage from the present $1.50 an hour.

Education Minister Eileen Dailly has announced that the NDP will abolish the limit on teachers' salary increases and ease the limits on school board spending for 1973. Jim MacFarlan, B.C. Teachers Federation Vice President greeted the NDP decision. It will mean, he said, "that smaller classes and better service for children with emotional and learning problems will be made available, and that many of the cutbacks that have occurred under the Social Credit regime will be reversed. We think it justifies all of the actions the Federation took — the political action to bring about the defeat of the government."

On the labor front the government has instructed Labor Minister William King to prepare revised labor legislation for the spring 1973 session of the Legislature. Attorney-General Alex Macdonald has halted all legal proceedings against the eleven construction unions charged with violating Bill 33 back-to-work orders during this summer's bitter construction dispute. For the NDP to only stay the charges against the 11 unions (thereby leaving the unions under duress and subject to recall before the courts) is intolerable for the labor movement. The charges must be dropped. Macdonald undercut the NDP's support for labor's cause with his fatuous remarks about a "growing disrespect for the law" in B.C.

"Respect for the law," he pontificated, "whether it's a good law or a bad law has to be reinculcated among our citizens. . .I'm concerned that nobody should take the staying of these charges as an indication that the laws of the province should not be upheld. Of course they must be."

Macdonald knows full well that labor over the years has had to fight and defy "bad" laws — anti-labor laws put on the books by boss governments to chain down the unions. Macdonald's job is to pick up a broom and get rid of anti-labor legislation, not to lecture workers to accept slave labor legislation out of respect for the "law." Until Bill 33 is repealed B.C. Federation of Labor policy is to defy it.

Macdonald's remarks indicate that there may well be a controversial debate in the NDP and the labor movement about the character of the labor code that the NDP will bring down next spring following the repeal of the flagrant antilabor laws now on the books. Labor must fight for the full and unqualified recognition of the right of all workers to collective bargaining rights and the right to strike. The use of court injunctions against labor must be stopped.

If in the past the discussion and adoption of convention resolutions has seemed like an academic exercise, this is certainly no longer the case. With the NDP in power these resolutions now become the concrete guidelines defining a clear program of action for the government to carry out. The spriited participation in riding association meetings has reflected this. Almost 100 people, the majority young and many new to the NDP, participated in a discussion of convention resolutions at a meeting of the Burrard NDP last week. Similar meetings are taking place elsewhere.

The convention will be an important time to formalize this, to assert the right of the party membership to direct and control the activities of the legislative caucus, and to set up strengthened lines of communication — a regular newspaper, regular meetings to which cabinet ministers report, special rank and file committees to work with the caucus etc.

The socialist left of the party — familiar with the long history of the right wing of separating the legislative caucus from party control, is faced with an important test around this issue.

The immediate reforms outlined by the new government only scratch the surface of the many challenges the party will meet during its first term in office. The NDP must take up the party program on women's rights, including government-built abortion clinics and child care centres. It must not only reverse the educational cutbacks but expand this whole area. The educational system demands democratization through student, faculty and staff control of schools and universities. The government must be prepared to take over plants whose shutdown threatens to wipe out whole communities like Ocean Falls.

Premier Barrett has pledged that the burden of taxes will be shifted off the backs of homeowners, farmers and workers onto the corporation profiteers. Any attempt by the forest and mining corporations to thwart this policy by threats of plant closures and runaway plants must be met with a policy of nationalization.

The NDP government must speak up on behalf of the working people of B.C. on all the major questions of the day, not merely strictly "provincial" questions. The NDP provincial executive motion asking that the NDP caucus put forward a motion in the B.C. legislature demanding immediate U.S. withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and an end to the federal government's complicity in the Vietnam war is an important test of the mettle and conviction of the new government.

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LSO program for Quebec liberation

While Trudeau cynically claims that "Canada is a guarantee of Quebec's vitality," the socialist electoral campaign of Alain Beiner for an independent and French Quebec in the federal riding of Montreal-Lafontaine is giving the lie to his demagogic talk about "Canadian integrity".

Beiner's campaign platform scores the national oppression suffered by the Quebecois — in the economy; culturally against the French language; and politically through the denial of the Quebec nation to the right to self-determination.

We must take control of our own economy — putting it at the service of the Quebecois. In order to end the deformation of our economy, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere proposes:

— Nationalization of all banks and finance companies.

— Opening the books of all foreign owned companies to ascertain superexploitation and superfprofits, which should be subject to a 100 perent tax.

— Nationalization of any foreign enterprise which shuts down and throws Quebecois workers into the streets.

— Nationalization of natural resources including forests and mines.

— Legislation requiring foreign corporations to pay Quebecois workers at least the salary paid in English Canada and the United States for comparable work.

FOR A FRENCH QUEBEC! On the cutlural plane our national oppression is particualrly offensive. It expresses itself mainly through the constant destruction of our French language and through our assimilation into English. . To put an end to the destruction of the French language, the LSO proposes:

— Immediate repeal of Bill 63. French as the sole language of instruction in public schools. For a French McGill.

— French as the language of work in all commercial and industrial enterprises.

— No text books in languages other than French, except for teaching a second language.

— For government finances, free French language courses open to all immigrants and English speaking people.

— Against the closure of French schools.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC — Politically Quebec is a prisoner of English Canada, denied the elementary democratic right to self-determination. As both Trudeau and Stanfield have affirmed it is the ten provinces that will decide Quebec's future, not the Quebecois. . .In order to take our destiny in our own hands we must separate from the bandits and millionaires who control Canada . . .

— For an independent Quebec republic.

— Full control by the Quebec National Assembly of areas now under federal jurisdiction, including unemployment insurance; social security; justice; broadcasting; immigration and rail, air and maritime transport. For an independent monetary and customs system.

— Explusion of the Canadian army from Quebec and the establishment of a militia controlled democratically by the population.

— Withdrawal of Quebec from all military alliances including NATO and NORAD. End all complicity with the U.S. war against the national liberation of Vietnam.

THE WORKERS IN THE VANGUARD OF THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE: The May strike of the Quebec public workers confirms that the Quebec working class is the only social force in the nation which has sufficient power and coherence, organization, homogeneity and independence to put an end to exploitation and oppression. . .Let's rely on ourselves:

— For a mass labor party launched by the Quebec trade unions, capable of defending the rights of workers and of the nation as a whole, capable of forming a government of workers and farmers in Quebec. For the unity of the Quebec trade union federations.

— For a minimum wage of $100 weekly. No wage controls.

— Against unbriddled inflation. For a sliding scale of wages rising with the rising living costs. Wage parity between all regions of Quebec with Montreal.

— For full employment. Reduction of the work week to 30 hours with no loss in take-home pay. Unemployment insurance at trade union rates of pay.

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Coalition challenges parties on abortion

A conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition of Repeal the Abortion Laws held in Toronto today vowed to make repeal of the abortion laws a key issue in the federal election. The conference planned a series of activities to culminate in rallies and demonstrations in cities across the country on October 21, one week before the federal election. This Ontario conference was one of several provincial conferences.

Members of the Canadian Women's Coalition have been challenging candidates to state their parties' positions on repeal at election meetings across the country. After equivocating on the issue for a period, NDP David Lewis last week stated his party's firm support for removal of the anti-abortion laws from the criminal code. Speaking in Vancouver, Lewis said women and doctors should not be made criminals for seeking abortions. The Liberal and Conservative party leaders have both said they do not see abortion as an election issue.

Lorna Grant, executive secretary of the Canadian Women's Coalition said, "Women represent slightly over half the population. And yet an issue which is of burning importance to us is called a 'non-issue'. This is one of the most blatant examples of discrimination revealed in the election."

She said she thought those people "like Prime Minister Trudeau and the so'called Right to Life groups who call abortion 'killing' are evading the real issue — women are deprived the right to life under the present laws. Because the laws prohibit abortion except under special circumstances, thousands of women are forced every year to seek illegal butcher abortions. Their choice is to face death or maiming by these butchers or to have their lives crippled by being forced to bear unwanted children."

Grant advocated "a woman's right to choose" whether or not she would bear a child. She said she thought the record of the Trudeau government was particularly bad on abortion. "Trudeau has been promising us a debate in the House on abortion for four years now. It has never been held. This issue is urgent. To quote the only woman MP, Grace MacInnis: 'pregnancy doesn't wait for debate!' We want the first act of the new government to be repeal of the abortion laws."

The Coalition decided to hold a day-long Assembly in Toronto on October 21 and to invite candidates from throughout the city, as well as the leaders of the parties.

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LSA-LSO elects new exec. secretary

by GARY PORTER

Revolutionary socialists from across Canada met in Toronto September 2-4 in a plenary conference of the Central Committee of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialist Ouvriere (LSA-LSO).

The conference, bringing together leaders of the Canadian Trotskyist movement from Quebec and five provinces, worked out action plans for the coming months and prepared for a convention to be held in January.

Three days of intensive discussion were concluded with the election of a new executive secretary. Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the Canadian Trotskyist movement for 28 years, stood aside from the post and nominated John Riddell as the new executive secretary. Ross Dowson was chosen as cross-Canada chairman of the LSA-LSO.

The conference opened with a report on the international situation by Arthur Young. Explaining the gravity of Moscow and Peking's betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution, he underlined the urgency of building a mass movement to support the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination by demanding immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Young reported on the growth of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, and on the important discussion now underway in its ranks.

Gary Porter, organizational secretary of the LSA-LSO, outlined the League's plans for intervention in a wide range of campaigns over the coming months. His report reflected the LSA-LSO's growing strength and influence in a range of movements for social change. In addition to stressing the importance of the antiwar movement, he outlined campaigns to build actions for women's liberation, for the rights of the French language in Quebec, and to support the growing left caucus formations in the NDP. He also projected an ambitious drive to increase circulation of socialist periodicals and publications across the country in the fall period.

The election of John Riddell as executive secretary of the LSA-LSO is an important step in the process of a new generation assuming central responsibility for the leadership of the Canadian Trotskyist movement.

The LSA-LSO has grown rapidly since the early 1960s, and particularly in the past five years, building its ranks with recruits from the rising wave of a new radicalization in English Canada and Quebec.

After a lengthy period of reaction in which revolutionary socialists could do little more than preserve their cadres and program, and make slow and painful gains, a new generation of revolutionaries began to emerge, seeking to link up with the historic program of Marxism incorporated today in the Trotskyist movement.

Substantial reinforcements came to the LSA-LSO, eager to learn from the experience and knowledge of past generations of revolutionaries, as contained in the program and cadres of the Trotskyist movement. With the growing incorporation of these forces in the LSA-LSO's leadership, a transition of leadership began, to a new generation.

John Riddell, the new executive secretary, joined the LSA-LSO in 1961, when this radicalization was in its preparatory stage. He played a leading role in the early '60s in organizing the student antiwar movement, in working in the student New Democratic Party, and promoting the defense of the Cuban revolution.

In 1965 he was elected executive secretary of the Young Socialists, the Canadian Trotskyist youth movement, and the following year he was their candidate for election to the Toronto board of education. In 1969 he was the League for Socialist Action's candidate for mayor of Toronto. The following year he became editor of Labor Challenge.

Ross Dowson's role as chairman is indicative of the continuity in the LSA-LSO's leadership, a continuity extending back 40 years to the inception of the Canadian Trotskyist movement, continuing the struggle initiated by the founding of the Canadian Communist party in 1921.

For thirty years of this 40 year history, Ross Dowson has played the central leadership role in the Canadian Trotskyist movement. Coming to Trotskyism in the '30s, he led the Trotskyists in regrouping and reorganizing after they were driven underground because of their opposition to the imperialist Second World War.

Dowson was several times candidate in municipal and federal elections, winning 23,000 votes as Trotskyist candidate for mayor of Toronto at the peak of the postwar labor upsurge.

Executive secretary of the Trotskyist organization since 1944, he led it in resisting the years of McCarthyite witchhunt and reaction, and in regearing to take advantage of the new opportunities presented by the launching of the NDP and by the yough radicalization which opened up in the 1960s.

As chairman, Ross Dowson will continue to play a key role in the central leadership of the LSA-LSO.

The conference concluded by projecting a cross-Canada convention for the month of January, a convention which will conclude an extended period of internal discussion, register the LSA-LSO's gains both in its major campaigns and in the strengthening of its leadership, and decide on the political questions governing its work over the coming period.

JOHN RIDDELL. Newly-elected executive-secretary of LSA-LSO was Toronto mayoralty candidate in 1969.

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Newsweek smears Trotskyism

The real 'Terrorist International'

by JON ROTHSCHILD

The entire back page of the Sept. 12 New York Times was taken up by an advertisement for the Sept. 18 issue of Newsweek. Part of the ad, in huge type, blared, "European experts are convinced, says Newsweek, that Black September is no bunch of loners, but rather a super-secret arm of Al Fatah. As part of its cover story, Newsweek explores the links between the major — and minor — young revolutionary groups throughout the world, their motives and heroes (would you believe Leon Trotsky?), and the civilized world's chances of stopping them in an age of instant communications and jet travel."

The publishers of Newsweek spent more than $10,000 for this single announcement of its big scoop on the implications of the Munich events.

For one and a half pages the unsigned "expose" pieces together the alleged exploits of Black September and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. In addition it weaves in the Japanese United Red Army, the West German Baader-Meinhof group, and the Turkish Dev Genc (Revolutionary Youth).

The article notes that in the past year terrorist actions have been "disastrous" for the terrorists, but it claims that "the avant-garde in international terrorist organizations no longer cares much whether others approve of its tactics."

Then comes the point: "Its models are less likely to be Mao Tse tung with his emphasis on national guerrilla movements, than the figure of Leon Trotsky — the Russian revolutionary who sought to spread communism throughout the world. 'His gigantic portrait, complete with fuzzy hair and pince-nex,' wrote British New Left specialist Peter Paterson, 'can dominate a hall full of British teenagers on a sunny Sunday afternoon like some political version of that sanctified teenage star, the late James Dean.' Trotskyites see themselves as the catalysts provoking governments into ever harsher repressive measures. This, they believe, will encourage Fascism and, in turn, produce more radical fanatics and more cracks in established society.

"According to some European specialists, the founding of the Fourth International in Brussels two years ago represented the most ambitious current effort to set terrorism firmly into a multinational frame. Its leading theoretician, Prof. Ernest Mandel of the University of Brussels, urges 'active participation of our comrades in armed insurrections designed to destroy the established order, whether in Ireland or in Latin America.' The Fourth International seems to have especially close ties with Latin American terrorists — and, in fact, was instrumental in convincing the Latin Leftists to switch from rural to urban guerrilla warfare. Its philosophy dovetails nicely with that of Brazil's Carlos Marighella, who first expounded the principle that 'the urban guerrilla's only reason for existence. . .is to shoot.' Marighella himself was killed in a police ambush in 1969."

It could be argued that Leon Trotsky's hair was somewhat fuzzy. It is true that he sometimes wore pince-nez and that, as a revolutionary Marxist, he believed in the socialist future of humanity. As for the rest, Newsweek's research was less than thorough.

The Fourth International, as anyone even casually acquainted with radical politics must know, was not founded two years ago. The fuzzy-haired, pince-nezed Leon Trotsky, as Newsweek's wordsmiths might put it, called for its formation in 1933, just two years after the birth of the late James Dean. And the Fourth International was founded in 1938. Newsweek's date is off by thirty-two years.

Ernest Mandel is neither a professor nor a member of the University of Brussels faculty. He is indeed one of the leading theoreticians of the Fourth International and the author of the widely acclaimed Marxist Economic Theory, which does not espouse terrorism, urban or rural, and which is most likely beyond the understanding of Newsweek's editorial staff.

The quote attributed to Mandel by Newsweek's anonymous author does not exist in any of Mandel's published works. Since Newsweek obviously did not discuss this matter with Mandel, we must assume that the quotation was concocted by a staff editor or by a police agent who listened to some lecture by Mandel and wrote down some garbled nonsense that he thought would

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL IN ACTION. Demonstration organized by Ligue Communiste, French Section of the Fourth International, in memory of the Paris Commune. In recent issue, Newsweek magazine charges that Fourth International is international terrorist movement.

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please his superiors.

The claim that "Trotskyites see themselves as the catalysts provoking governments into ever harsher repressive measures" designed to bring about fascism, which they believe will "produce more radical fanatics and more cracks in established society" sounds like a belated echo of the charges invented by Stalin during the infamous Moscow trials of the 1930s.

Those who want to know the truth may turn to Trotsky's own writings on fascism. They will find that, far from believing that the onset of fascism and repression brings nearer the day of revolution, Trotsky held just the opposite. He saw from its inception the gravity of the threat fascism represented to the very existence of the working-class movement.

In fact, the call for the formation of the Fourth International, which flowed from Trotsky's recognition that the Stalinized Third International had become a counterrevolutionary instrument that could not be rejuvenated from within, was prompted by the failure of the German Communist party effectively to fight Hitlerism and by the Comintern's complacent attitude toward the Nazi seizure of power.

The Fourth International does indeed have close ties with some forces among Latin America's guerrilla fighters. It has supported them and other guerrillas against brutal military dictatorships, above all through worldwide activites in defense of political prisoners arrested and often tortured by these military dictatorships that, somehow, escape the label "terrorist" and are included by Newsweek's editors as belonging to the "civilized world."

The Fourth International was a key component in the international campaign that won the release from prison of the Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco, a proclaimed Trotskyist and the most popular socialist fighter in the country, where the oppressed peasantry recognizes the regime, and not the opponents of it, as the real terrorists.

More recently, the Fourth International has engaged energetically in the effort to win freedom for the political prisoners in Argentina, a country in which political dissidents are assassinated by government forces at frequent intervals.

It is also true that some forces in the Latin American revolutionary movement have in recent years moved closer to the political positions of Trotskyism, and that Trotskyists may be found among their ranks. But it is not true that the Fourth International "was instrumental in convincing" Latin American revolutionists "to switch from rural to urban guerrilla warfare." That turn was first made by the Tupamaros in Uruguay; and they are not Trotskyists. The aim of Newsweek's assertion is transparent.

To throw in the name of Carlos Marighella — who was not a Trotskyist either — is also transparent, as is the quotation attributed to him. Marighella broke with the Brazilian Communist party because of its reformist political line. It is slanderous to suggest that his only conceived purpose was "to shoot," particularly in view of the record of the Brazilian government in shooting—or otherwise dispensing with—political dissidents or critics.

The concoctions in Newsweek's "Terrorist International" are obviously part of an effort to organize a more ominous sort of "international." The capitalist rulers and their media are lumping together various scattered guerrilla or terrorist actions by small groups and seeking to use that amalgam as propaganda in a witchhunt of worldwide proportions.

Ernest Mandel has been forbidden to travel to France, the United States, Switzerland, and West Germany. Earlier this year, the Social Democratic regime in Bonn explained its refusal to allow Mandel to enter West Germany by referring to the alleged, and completely fictional, terrorist actions of the Fourth International.

The rhetoric used by the Brandt government in banning Mandel set the stage for a possible decision to declare the Fourth International itself illegal in Germany.

French members of the Fourth International have been arrested in Spain for the "crime" of bringing anti-Franco literature into the country.

In the United States, as Intercontinental Press reported Sept. 18, a special new committee composed of members of the Defense Intelligence Agency, the CIA, and the FBI has been formed to investigate "terrorism."

UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim has called for a special General Assembly discussion of "terrorist activities" in order to coordinate an international witchhunt against dissident political movements.

Newsweek's story is a crass attempt to amalgamate "terrorism" with the international Trotskyist movement — with the dual purpose of making relatively insignificant guerrilla actions appear more important than they actually are and of using those incidents to repress adherents of the Fourth International.

The selection of the world Trotskyist movement as a target has certain logic from the viewpoint of the capitalist class. As a tendency that has shown considerable potential for growth in recent years, the Trotskyist movement may soon become a significant force in the political life of a number of countries. The ruling class has good reason to be concerned about this.

At the same time the parties and groups adhering to the Fourth International are not yet of mass size. They are thus less able to defend themselves than is, for example, the organized trade-union movement. Pressed by a worsening political and economic crisis, the capitalist class, in attacking the Trotskyist movement, is aiming ultimately at the entire working-class movement.

— Intercontinental Press

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Leon Trotsky on terrorism

(From Labor Challenge October 1972 – reprinted from the US SWP Militant)

What was Leon Trotsky's actual position on Terrorism? The following excerpts from Trotsky's testimony before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry in 1937 show that he and the Marxist movement as a whole are unalterably opposed to such tactics (-- LC).

"Our country (Russia) has the greatest experience in the matter of terror. I believe only the Irish people would have a certain competition with us. We had two great parties, the 'Narodnaya Volya" (Will of the People) Party, and the Social Revolutionaries, which based their tactics upon individual terror. All Marxists in Russia began in the historic fight against individual terror. It was not a mystical or religious principle with the Marxists. It was a question of organizing the soul against the monster, of organizing the masses and educating them. Because the terrorist fight was a very glorious page in our revolutionary history, with great sacrifices of the best youth of our people, the Marxists made a terrible fight, ideological fight, against the ideology of terrorism, in order to turn the best elements of the youth to the workers. In this fight between Marxism and terrorism it is the action of the masses versus individual terror, the school which differentiated the strategy of individual terror and the organized movement. It penetrated our action, our psychology and our literature for decades.

When I came in 1902 to London to the home of Lenin and met Lenin, there was a movement in Russia beginning, a mass movement of the students and workers, with the first sacrifices resulting from conflict in the streets. Now, the first reaction of the youth was revenge, the assassination of Ministers, and we told them: 'Not that is our revenge, not the assassination of Ministers, but the assassination of Tsarism, the order of tyranny' . . .

Beginning with the eighties *(1880s –ed.)* of the past century, two generations of Russian Marxists in their personal experience lived through the era of terror, learned from its tragic lessons, and organically instilled in themselves a negative attitude toward the heroic adventurism of lone individuals. Plekhanov, the founder of Russian Marxism; Lenin, the leader of Bolshevism; Martov, the most eminent representative of Menshevism; all dedicated thousands of pages and hundreds of speeches to the struggle against the tactic of terror. . . .

Isolated terroristic explosions are inevitable whenever political oppression transgresses certain boundaries. Such acts almost always have a symptomatic character. But politics that sanctifies terror, raising it into a system — that is a different thing. "Terrorist work," I wrote in 1909, "in its very essence demands such a concentration of energy upon the 'supreme moment,' such an over-estimation of personal heroism and, lastly, such a hermetically concealed conspiracy as . . . excludes completely any agitational and organizational activity among the masses… Struggling against terrorism, the Marxian intelligentsia defended their right or their duty not to withdraw from the working-class districts for the sake of tunneling mines underneath the Gran Ducal and Tsarist palaces." It is impossible to fool or outwit history. In the long run, history puts everybody in his place. The basic property of terror as a system is to destroy that organization which by means of chemical compounds seeks to compensate for its own lack of political strength (...)

In 1911 terrorist moods arose among certain groups of Austrian workers. Upon the request of Friedrich Adler, editor of *Der Kampf*, the theoretical monthly of the Austrian Social Democracy, I wrote in November, 1911, an article on terrorism for this publication.

"Whether or not a terrorist attempt, even if 'successful,' introduces confusion in the ruling circles, depends upon the concrete political circumstances. In any case this confusion can be only of short duration. The capitalist state does not rest upon ministers and cannot be destroyed together with them. The classes whom the state serves will always find new men — the mechanism remains intact and continues to function. But much deeper is that confusion which the terrorist attempts introduce into the ranks of the working masses. If it is enough to arm oneself with a revolver to reach the goal, then to what end are the endeavors of the class struggle? If a pinch of powder and a slug of lead are ample to shoot the enemy through the neck, where is the need of a class organization? If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled personages with the noise of an explosion, what need is there for a party? What is the need of meetings, mass agitation, elections, when it is so easy to take aim at the Ministerial bench from the Parliamentary gallery? Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissible precisely for the reason that it lowers the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes towards the great avenger and emancipator who will some day come and accomplish his mission."

— *Leon Trotsky's testimony before Dewey Commission of Inquiry, The Case of Leon Trotsky,* pp. 45, 489-92. (Merit Publishers, New York – Pathfinder Press)

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VOTE NDP!

Libs, Tories: no solution for unemployment crisis

Dramatic unemployment rise marks crisis in Trudeau government. NDP campaign must meet challenge with real, socialist answers to unemployment. Here, unemployed men line up at Toronto welfare office, 1970.

by MARK GANS

Canada's soaring unemployment rate hit 7.1 percent this month — the highest in 11 years — and all Pierre Elliott Trudeau could say when the figures were released last week was that he was "puzzled."

The source of his bewilderment, undoubtedly, was the assurance conveyed to him previously by government economists that the unemployment rate would decline to a "respectable" 6 percent by October — a major reason why the election was called for this month.

He was puzzled, too, because his economic strategy — promoting unemployment as a means of reducing wage pressures on Canada's export-hungry capitalists who require lower costs to compete more effectively in international markets — is clearly backfiring.

Unemployment is out of control and inflation is reviving, particularly in consumer items — a fact bitterly underscored by another set of government figures issued last week showing that the overall cost of living increased by 5.3 percent in the year ended last month, the biggest jump in 20 years.

But if the news was merely "puzzling" in an almost casual way for Trudeau, it must be alarming for Canada's working people.

The figures reveal nearly a half-million unemployed concentrated in the Maritimes, Quebec, and British Columbia. All industries registered increases in the jobless rates, including the traditionally more secure white collar service trades, where 87,000 are now unemployed.

Nor do the figures take in the tens of thousands of jobless making-do on meager manpower retraining allowances, Natives on reserves, housewives and students who would otherwise be seeking work, or the untotalled thousands no longer unemployed in the government's eyes because they have given up looking for jobs.

For those still working, rising unemployment means inevitable downward pressure on wages because of their weakened bargaining position, reallocation of their tax money to make up deficits in the Unemployment Insurance Fund, and heightened insecurity, as economists predict fewer jobs available in the coming period. If present trends continue, unemployment will shortly top 8 percent, warns Canadian Labor Congress president Donald MacDonald.

Some people, however, weren't completely disheartened by last week's news. Robert Stanfield and his Conservative party eagerly seized on the unemployment issue to demagogically score points in the election campaign, berating Trudeau for his "frivolous and indifferent" attitude to the unemployed.

That was true enough, but the Tories' sudden concern for the unemployed ran no deeper. Like the Liberals, they also represent big business, and recognize equally that unemployment is a natural and necessary feature of capitalism, varying in depth with the business cycle of boom and recession, but serving at all times to provide a reserve army of jobless to depress wages.

In recent years, high unemployment levels have become a structural feature of capitalism.

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WMA - two years after

It's sometimes hard to imagine that it's only two years ago this month that the Canadian ruling class — exploiting an opportunity provided them by the kidnappings of James Cross and Pierre Laporte by youthful partisans of a "Front de Liberation du Quebec" — moved to smash the entire Quebec independence movement. The same capitalist state that deliberately dallies and stalls on social reform abruptly shifted into high gear and roared down the high road to repression when its interests were at stake. Suddenly, on the morning of Oct. 16, we awoke to troops in the streets of Quebec, radicals in the jails, civil liberties in limbo, parliament in more than usual confusion, and a well-oiled propaganda machine whipping up a law and order hysteria.

What was clear then to only a few English-Canadians has since become clear to many: The "crisis" was nothing more than a cynical pretext to jail, intimidate, and tar with a "terrorist" brush hundreds of Ottawa's nationalist opponents in Quebec. The subsequent acquittal of the alleged "ringleaders" of the "conspiracy" proved that. As did later revelations that the government was considering the use of the Act against Quebec six months previous to the crisis, a number of well-documented books on October, and — most damning of all — the admission of one of Trudeau's chief lieutenants, Gerard Pelletier, in his book on the crisis, that an insurrection didn't exist, the FLQ was not seen as a threat, and the government only moved because of "general instability" in Quebec.

It may be that it all seems longer than two years because so much has happened since in Quebec — the defense campaigns for the political prisoners, the La Presse strike and last spring's massive labor upsurge, the steady growth of support for the independence movement, the deepening economic and social crisis. All these are the surest indications that Trudeau's ploy to put the brakes on history clearly failed, and that the basic conditions which produced the October crisis — the national and social oppression of the Quebecois — remain.

Trudeau and the ruling class which he represents instinctively feel that. That's why Trudeau continues to defend his use of the War Measures Act before campaign audiences. That's why he has consistently resisted suggestions for repeal of the WMA. That's why federal military and police forces continue to keep close tabs on the Quebec independence and labor movements, as secret dossiers in Quebec revealed last month.

They haven't forgotten, and neither have we. Nor can we forget about October, 1970, until the few remaining political prisoners are freed, Quebec has secured its right to self-determination, and the WMA and all other repressive laws are off the books, once and for all.

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NDP must run full Toronto civic slate

TORONTO, Oct. 18 — The League for Socialist Action, which fielded 12 candidates in Toronto's last municipal election in 1969, challenged the New Democratic Party today to put forward an effective and full slate of candidates in the coming Dec. 4 Toronto civic election.

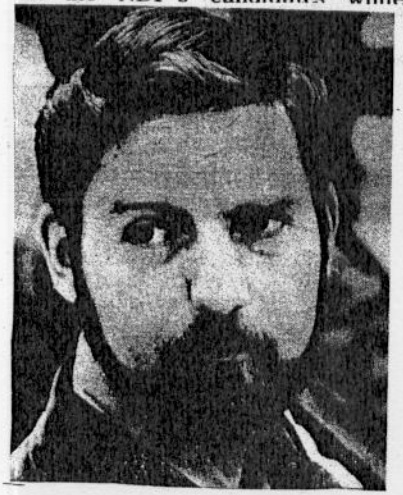
John Riddell, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action, announced that the LSA plans to run a candidate for mayor of Toronto as part of a slate of socialist candidates in the coming civic elections, should the NDP fail to run for all posts. Riddell headed the LSA's slate when he ran for mayor of Toronto in 1969.

"The New Democratic Party's campaign for Toronto city council in 1969 was a first step towards presenting an alternative to the coalition of big business interests which runs City Hall today," Riddell explained. "Three membes of the NDP slate were elected. On Dec. 4, a large number of NDPers will be running — both sitting aldermen and a range of prominent party members. The pioneer effort of 1969 must be carried forward by drawing together the NDP candidates into an effective slate around a common program. The 1969 slate lost credibility because it was so limited — no candidates for mayor or board of education; many aldermanic seats left vacant.

"So far the NDP has made no move towards entering a slate of candidates. The NDP aldermen seem content to disappear into the murky confusion of self-styled 'reformers' who present no clear alternative to the present Liberal-Tory dominated civic regime. The League for Socialist Action is therefore preparing to field candidates for the mayoralty and the city council, to ensure that the alternative of a labor civic government is posed clearly in the coming elections."

The LSA candidates will run on a common slate with candidates of the Young Socialists for the Board of Education.

Riddell explained that the LSA and Young Socialist candidates would withdraw if the NDP decided to run a full slate. If the NDP were to present a partial slate, as it did in 1969, the LSA and YS would support all the NDP's candidates while running for those posts which the NDP left uncontested.



TORONTO NDP ALDERMAN JAFFARY. LSA calls on NDP aldermen to launch full slate for civic elections.

"The Vancouver NDP has shown the way for Toronto. In 1969 the Vancouver NDP's civic slate suffered from the same weakness as in Toronto: no candidate for mayor and only a partial list. But on Oct. 3 a Vancouver city convention voted to field a full slate of candidates, headed by Brian Campbell for mayor. The same need — for a labor alternative for city hall — is felt across the country. For example, a Saskatchewan provincial council meeting on the weekend of Sept. 30 gave the go-ahead for an NDP slate in Regina."

Riddell challenged the three aldermen the NDP elected on the party ticket in 1969 to take the lead in launching this year's campaign. "Archie Chisholm, Reid Scott and Karl Jaffary campaigned for an 'NDP team' in city hall; they were elected by thousands of voters who wanted to replace the old big business shell game in city hall with an NDP civic administration. They should set in motion an NDP civic convention to unite the many NDP candidates and draw up a common program for their campaigns.

"City Hall has been shaken in recent years by the struggles of community organizations, women's organizations, tenants' movements, trade unions, all acting to try to establish some measure of popular control over city government. Massive campaigns have mobilized to block city council from giving way to the demands of big business developers at the cost of the working people of Toronto. The campaign to block the Spadina expressway is only the most famous example.

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"How can such movements find an alternative to a civic government run by the owners of Meridian, Cadillac, Greenwin, Eaton's, Simpson's, of the banks and insurance companies, who control the

JOHN RIDDELL. "If NDP doesn't provide labor alternative for City Hall, League for Socialist Action will!"

Liberal and Conservative parties, and the old guard mayoralty candidates now in the field — Rotenberg, O'Donohue and Crombie?

"There is no alternative in contests of supposed 'coalitions' of 'reform' and 'old guard' candidates. As often as not the 'reformers' are big business Liberal or Tory politicians on the make, as quick to pick up and discard the mask of hero or villain as the stars of professional wrestling. In 1969, we were told that Crombie, Rotenberg and O'Donohue were all 'reformers' — the masks were laid aside rapidly enough when executive committee posts were divided up after the election.

"A civic government of the vast majority of those who have no share in power in City Hall today — of the tenants, the poor, of women, of students, of unionists — in short of the working people as a whole — how can this be achieved?

"The New Democratic Party is the organized political expression of the labor movement, of the working class, on the Canadian political scene. This is the meaning of David Lewis' campaign against the 'corporate bums' who run Parliament Hill, and the enthusiastic response it has received from workers across Canada.

"The League for Socialist Action calls upon the NDP to respond to the necessity for a working-class alternative in Toronto municipal politics," Riddell concluded. "The LSA, possesses only a tiny fraction of the NDP's resources. But should the NDP not run a full slate, as appears likely, the LSA will run the most effective campaign in its reach, for the alternative of a labor and socialist administration in City Hall."

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Quebec socialist candidate speaks to the real issues

ALAIN BEINER. Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere candidate addresses rally for Quebec independence July 1, 1971.

by PHIL COURNEYEUR

Alain Beiner, the candidate of the Trotskyist Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere in Montreal-Lafontaine federal riding spoke at the Vanguard Forum in Toronto Oct. 13 recounting the experiences of the first weeks of the socialist election campaign. He explained the extent and purpose of the campaign and outlined the LSO program to the forum and later in an interview with Labor Challenge.

The campaign of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (Quebec wing of the cross-Canada League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, is the only effort in the current election to advance a socialist program for an independent and French Quebec.

Beiner described how the socialists are using his candidacy to intervene in the election. Around the lay-offs at GM in Ste-Therese the LSO campaign put out a plant leaflet advancing a program to defend the jobs of the workers — for a 30 hour work week with the same take home pay; for opening the books of the corporation; and for nationalization of the plant, if necessary, to prevent the lay-offs. A spokesman for the Beiner campaign spoke in Ste-Therese at a meeting in the local CEGEP outlining the LSO program against lay-offs and unemployment.

Beiner, whose campaign has been reported in all Montreal French language newspapers, was granted an interview on Channel 9 cable TV with a viewing audience of over 100,000. The LSO campaign will be pressing all the news media to grant time for its viewpoint to be heard.

An important part of the campaign is taking LSO literature and the Trotskyist newspaper Liberation to the numerous rallies called by the Parti Quebecois as part of its "anti-campaign" during the federal election. Sales of Liberation are brisk, indicating that many PQ supporters are open to hearing the socialist viewpoint.

The Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Young Socialists) in Quebec have endorsed the LSO campaign and have organized meetings for LSO speakers on the campuses. The LJS is campaigning against the closure of French schools — the most flagrant manifestation of educational cutbacks in Quebec — against student unemployment and language oppression faced by Quebecois students whose french schools mostly have inferior facilities in which they are often forced to use English language textbooks.

"One of the most important things we intend to do with our campsign, "Beiner told Labor Challenge, "is to use it as a tribune to support and help organize struggles that are taking place — such as the women's struggle for the right to legal and safe abortions. But we are also taking our campaign right into the streets and doors of our riding. Our canvassers are going door to door trying to interest the many independentist workers in Montreal-Lafontaine. And we will be at all-candidates meetings confronting our opponents with our views and our program."

The federal election campaign, Beiner explained, confronted the Quebec left and nationalist movement with many crucial problems and challenges especially the revolutionary socialist left.

Should they participate in the elections, given their small forces? What attitude should they take towards the NDP campaign? What do they say about the boycott of the federal elections proposed by such forces as the 60,000 member Montreal Council of the Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN-Confederation of National Trade Unions) led by Michel Chartrand?

The LSO took up a position on all of these questions with its decision to enter the campaign. "The main reason for our running," Beiner emphasized, "is to popularize socialist positions on the main issues facing the Quebecois, above all on the national oppression which we face. We think that the national question is a key question in the workers struggle for socialism. We don't think that anyone but the LSO is posing the alternative of an independent socialist Quebec. We intend to use the elections as a tribune to reach out to broad numbers of Quebecois with our socialist ideas.

"We disagree with the idea of abstention from the elections," Beiner explained.

"The PQ position is very ambiguous. Of course, they do not preach abstention, but are telling their members and supporters to vote for the 'best man'. It is their complete dedication to bourgeois parliamentariam that keeps them from calling for abstention. They don't want to undermine any illusions in the parliamentary system.

"But with the Montreal Council of the CSN, it's a different question. They are reacting to a visible and widespread rejection of federalism among militants in the union movement. But their position of abstaining from the election evades the real problem . . . the majority of Quebecois do believe in the institutions of Parliament and still have illusions in elections even if they are

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questioning federalism. They still hope that some sort of solution to at least some of their problems will be found in the election.

"That is why we, the revolutionary socialists, do not reject elections as a means of struggle. Elections still dominate the political life of the masses — if we are to reach broad layers of the population with our ideas we cannot abstain.

"There is a choice for the working people in many ridings. We think that a vote for the NDP, inspite of its contemptible federalist program, is a vote for independent working class political action. The NDP is backed by the 235,000-member Quebec Federation of Labor and there is a strong support in the Quebec NDP for independence.

"Our campaign in Montreal-Lafontaine is also a workers alternative to the boss and federalist parties."

The LSO issued a challenge at the Montreal Council of the CSN to support its campaign. On Sept. 19 the CSN had decided to advocate a workers abstention from the election because "none of the parties favor Quebec independence and socialism." That decision, the LSO pointed out, was taken prior to the LSO's entry into the election, with a program calling for an independent, French and socialist Quebec.

The CSN's Montreal Council, however, failed to take up the LSO challenge. Some delegates after the meeting used the lame excuse that they were against participating in the election on any program.

Beiner explained the different position occupied by the NDP in English Canada from that in Quebec. "In Quebec, the NDP is not a mass labor party and is not a crucial factor in the class struggle as it is in English Canada. The question of supporting the NDP as a working class tendency within the Quebec nation is different from English Canada because the masses of Quebec workers are not going through the experience of the NDP.

"We have major disagreements with the NDP's program in Quebec, and important one being the NDP's opposition to the Quebecois independence struggle and its defence of the federal capitalist state. While the NDP poses the alternative of independent working class political action on a cross-Canada plane we feel it is absolutely essential to challenge the NDP with our own program for an independent and socialist Quebec.

"We think that the working class is the only social force that can lead our nation forward, liberating us from national oppression. We do not think that workers can do this merely through trade union struggles. The working class has to become political, has to forge ahead and shape its own class party on a mass scale. There is no solution to the economic and social problems of the masses in Quebec nor to the national oppression of the Quebecois unless the workers take the lead in the struggle with their own mass party fighting for a socialist Quebec.

"In the present situation in Quebec, where the revolutionary movement is very small and the NDP is isolated from the main thrust of the class struggle, we call on the Quebec trade union federations — the CSN, the FTQ and the CEQ (teachers' union) — to launch a mass labor party based on union locals, labor councils and shop committees. Such a party would bring into its fold socialist and independentist groups who support independent working class political action and would encompass the NDP."

Beiner cited the contradiction between the high degree of class militancy and combativity displayed by tens of thousands of Quebec workers in recent struggles and the low level of political class consciousness. "The May upsurge was a spontaneous upsurge. It started off around immediate demands and developed into a political conflict. However, the recent splits away from the CSN and perhaps the recent election results in Duplessis (Sept-Isles — where the Liberals won a big majority) indicate that the class consciousness of the Quebec workers, even on a trade union level, is still at a very embryonic stage."

"The big challenge to take the Quebec workers forward," Beiner concluded, "is the hurdle of independent working class political action . . . to break from the capitalist Parti Quebecois, from the Liberal and Unite-Quebec parties. The LSO stands for the launching of a mass labor party. That is the real test of the 'radicalism' of Quebec labor leaders."

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MAY 1972 LABOR UPSURGE showed militancy of Quebec workers but this has not been reflected in break from big business politics. Above, labor leaders Pepin, Charbonneau and Laberge on their way to jail.

How women can win political power (2)

(From Labor Challenge, October 1972)

by WENDY JOHNSTON

This federal election campaign has been marked by a multitude of newspaper articles, meetings and public discussions on the participation of women in politics. Women are beginning to see that they can no longer entrust their fate to 264 men in the House of Commons *(the Canadian Parliament --ed.),* but have to become actively involved in finding political solutions to their needs.

The discrimination against women, manifested in politics is overwhelming. There is only one woman in the House of Commons, and only 68 out of more than 1,100 candidates are women. This is only one very graphic barometer of the profound discrimination against women in Canadian society. Faced with the huge task of liberating themselves from this pervasive oppression, women are looking for ways to achieve political power.

Many alternatives have been put forward, ranging from caucusing in the Liberal and Tory parties, to running as "independent" candidates, unaffiliated to any political party. A different concept of political power is put forward by women working to build a feminist movement around issues that unite women, independent of all political parties, with its main focus a strategy of mass extra-parliamentary action.

Common to all these strategies is the recognition that, in order to make changes, women have to have power. What kind of power is going to effect real changes?' Who are we fighting, who are our oppressors? These are questions that have to be answered by the feminist movement in order to give women political direction for their struggles.

In the current elections, a group called Women for Political Action has put forward a "new" political direction for women. WPA is supporting Kay Macpherson and Aline Gregory as independent candidates in Toronto. The idea of independent women candidates poses a number of questions that are important to the strategy for women's liberation.

Any strategy for change has to first define the enemy. Women's oppression is rooted in the exploitative nature of capitalism. The men in Ottawa don't oppress women merely because it satisfies their virility, but because it is profitable and economically necessary for the class they represent to deny us control over our bodies and lives. This ruling class, a small minority of Canadian society, holds power over the economic, political and ideological life of Canada. Its institutions like the nuclear family maintain women's role as unpaid wife-mother-houseworker, keeping us under control and trying to convince us that things will always be this way.

The ruling class also uses the state apparatus to try to prevent the working people from gaining any control over their lives, by strikebreaking, wage cuts, deliberate unemployment, etc. There is a struggle going on in Canada between these classes who have diametrically opposed interests. The working class is the real ally of women because it his no interest in maintaining a system of exploitation any more than women do.

Separating the struggle for women's liberation from the class struggle in Canada flies in the lace of reality. To try to be "independent" of class politics only leaves a candidate vulnerable to the pressures of the ruling class. Independent candidates are not responsible to the program of any political party or movement. They are responsible only to themselves.

Without the backing of a party or a mass movement, an "independent" in the House of Commons carries absolutely no political weight. In capitalist society, the idea of "independent" electoral politics is an illusion that would lead the feminist movement away from potential allies in the working class. Real independent political action involves women struggling against the state, independent of ruling class politics with a mass action strategy for their liberation. In the process of their struggle women begin to generalize about the roots of their oppression and the necessity of fundamental changes in society. The task of feminists is to build this independent movement, and in the process, ally their struggle with the struggles of the working class and other oppressed people who are fighting for real control over their lives.

Running independent women candidates opens up the question of the formation of a women's political party. A party, by definition, is an organization out to win political power.

A party has to have a program for all sectors of Canadian society; in other words, it has to have positions on class issues, like inflation, unemployment, etc. The feminist movement, united on a limited program for women's liberation, would be fractured if forced to present an overall program for society. The party would be embroiled in endless debates within itself instead of reaching out to other women to involve them in struggles around issues on which they can agree. Such a party would be a diversion from building a mass feminist movement and would split up the women's movement instead of uniting it.

This party, because of its totally electoral orientation, would try to convert the active energy of the feminist movement into the passive act of individual women coming out of their kitchens and bedrooms to vote once every lour years. This is not a lesson in political power for women, it is not a lesson in confidence in the collective power of women, but a diversion of that potential power to the few token women in the Canadian government. A women's political party would deceive women into thinking that they can win liberation within capitalism, by simply supporting this party.

By posing candidates independent of all political parties, WPA is saying that there is no alternative, that all of the political parties are bankrupt on the question of women's rights This is certainly true of the Liberal and Conservative parties; but the NDP is qualitatively different. The NDP leadership is male-dominated, and does not adequately express the interests and desires of women, but nonetheless the party is the present political expression of the working class. It is organically linked to and subject to the control of the trade unions, whereas the other parties are controlled by big business. It is a labor party, which poses the question of what class will rule Canada. The weakness of the NDP is that it does not provide an answer to this question. Its leadership identifies with the state and wants to use it to institute reforms, to make capitalism better, not to do away with it.

Such reforms would be useful for women, but it will take a more powerful political force than the NDP to fundamentally change society. The logical conclusion for feminists, then, is to join the League for Socialist Action and participate in the building of a socialist revolution.

Within the NDP, where others are coming to the same socialist conclusions, the demands of the feminist movement are reflected in the party left wing, such as the Left Caucus in Ontario. This caucus is out to fight the leadership and force them to actively support the struggles of women, and the other oppressed. Feminists have every interest in supporting the NDP, participating in the Left Caucus of the NDP to win people to a socialist perspective for women's liberation and defeat the reformist politics of the leadership.

Gail Matheson of WPA, speaking from the floor at the Vanguard forum in Toronto Sept. 29, said that the struggle in Canada is "not between classes, but between the sexes." Does this mean that we have to get rid of men or do we have to patiently clean them up so that they don't oppress women any more? It is not up to women to clean up men's attitudes. Capitalism creates sexism and sexism will never be destroyed by ignoring class divisions, but by understanding those divisions and struggling to break the hold of the ruling class over the working class.

Aline Gregory says that "independent candidates are free from party constraints, enabling them to make human issues a primary concern." The independence that she talks about is nothing but abstention from class politics. "Independent" candidates, with no roots in a mass movement or the working class, are subject to every political wind that blows, and the winds in the House of Commons come for the most part, from the ruling class.

What does WPA have to say about the burning class issues like unemployment'.' Kay Macpherson, in her campaign brochure, states that "The dilemma is probably unavoidable given our present economic system." Is Macpherson prepared to accept the present economic system, that same system that profits from the oppression of women?

On foreign and military matters, she says "Canada is a middle power with a potential for friendly cooperation with all countries, provided she is free of alignment with the great powers." Canada is an imperialist power, playing a consciously complicit role in the war in Vietnam, not a neutral power. It becomes clearer and clearer that. Macpherson's program is not a working class program. She is trying to keep herself "free of alignment," somehow above class conflict, but in reality, she is supporting the ruling class and trying to change its emphasis without changing its fundamental nature.

The WPA candidates do not comprehend the task ahead of feminists, nor the political power that will be necessary to accomplish these tasks. They think that by warming a chair in the House of Commons, they are going to win women their liberation. Women are going to achieve their liberation only when they themselves move out into a mass feminist movement, confronting the state which oppresses us. Women are becoming fighters, leaders, and clear political thinkers, capable of mobilizing the power of masses of women in the decisive struggles against the capitalist state.

(end)

labor Challenge #66 Oct 1972

Condemns Argentine repression

The "Argentine Commission" of the South American Tourist Organization (SATO) is visiting Quebec in order to "promote Argentine tourism" by putting on a performance called "Spectacular Argentina". They want to "acquaint" the Quebecois with Argentina. . .

Alain Beiner, independentist and socialist candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO) in Montreal-Lafontaine (riding) demands that the "Argentine Commission" acquaint the Quebecois with the real face of the military dictatorship of General Lanusse and the real situation in Argentina.

The "Argentine Commission" will not utter a word about the Trelew massacre in Argentina. Sixteen political prisoners, opponents of the military regime, who together with three other prisoners had escaped from the Rawson prison peacefully surrendered to authorities, turning in their arms on Aug. 15 in the aftermath of their attempt to get out of the country. They were murdered in cold blood on Aug. 22, seven days later, at the Trelew air and naval base.

This massacre was coldly planned by the president General Alejandro Lanusse, the same person who wants to encourage Quebec tourists to go to Argentina! When a mass protest movement got underway, Lanusse decided to send his police to attack the place where the funeral vigil for the victims was being held, surrounding it with armed detachments in order to seize the coffins and bury them secretly!

This is not an isolated incident. It is part of a general campaign of governmental repression against all opposition. Democracy does not exist in Argentina — the repression is one of the most barbarous in Latin America. In Argentina people are arrested without charge, detained indefinitely and often tortured. Lanusse is now speaking about "free" elections for 1973, but behind these promises the repression against opponents continues unabated.

Hugo Blanco, Peruvian peasant leader, was arrested July 12, two months after his legal entry into Argentina.

He is being held in the Villa Devota prison in Buenos Aires under an explusion order. In spite of the fact that he was to have been expelled from the country on July 19, he is still held in prison without explanation.

On the occasion of this "visit" of the "Argentine Commission," Alain Beiner demands that the Argentine government immediately and unconditionally free Hugo Blanco and all political prisoners! Stop deportation measures against Blanco! End the torture and repression!

We demand that the federal government protest to the Lanusse government against its tortures! We demand that it break all relations with the Lanusse government. We demand that the organizers of the "Argentine Commission" acquaint the Quebecois with the real situation in Argentina — promote freedom instead of tourism!

labor Challenge #66 Oct 1972

Fourth International labelled 'terrorist'

Mandel slams Newsweek lies

The Oct. 9 issue of Labor Challenge reported on an article in the Sept. 18 Newsweek called "The Terrorist International," which contained distortions of the views of Ernest Mandel and of the Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International.

The following is the text of a letter dated Sept. 14, sent by Ernest Mandel to the editors of Newsweek.

In your Sept. 18, 1972, issue you devote two whole paragraphs on page 34 to the movement I am part of, the Fourth International, and to myself. The only trouble with these paragraphs is that they do not contain a single word of truth.

The Fourth International was not founded two years ago in Brussels, but thirty-four years ago in Paris. It is not a terrorist organization but has always rejected the philosophy and methods of terrorism, opposed

Ernest Mandel

to the Marxist principles it stands for. The Brussels conference issued no call to "shoot" on any scale. More modestly, it tried to coordinate the struggle of radical workers, students and intellectuals against the takeover of Europe by a few hundred multinational corporations, either American or European. The call it issued was for a Socialist United States of Europe, based upon social ownership of the means of production administered not by any top-heavy bureaucracy or state apparatus, but by democratically elected councils of producers, under a multiparty system. The sentence you attribute to me, reproduced between quotation marks, was never spoken by me, neither at that conference nor anywhere else. On the contrary, foreseeing this type of misrepresentation, I explicitly stated in my conference report that we do not fight by means of dynamite, bombs or the like.

Your attempt to picture us as a "Terrorist International" can therefore only be characterized as a total distortion of the truth.

Equally scandalous is the assertion that "Trotskyites see themselves as the catalysts provoking governments into ever harsher repressive measures. This, they believe, will encourage Fascism and, in turn, produce more radical fanatics and more cracks in established society."

Anybody doing his elementary homework before writing an article could easily have found out that one of the great intellectual and political achievements of Leon Trotsky was that he understood—nearly alone—as early as 1930 the mortal threat of fascism represented to the German people. He desperately sought to unite Communists, Social Democrats, and unionists by the millions — and not just a few "fanatics" — to prevent a fascist takeover of that key country. His followers ever since have acted in the same spirit, and are rightly considered by fascists the world over as their most implacable enemies. To accuse such a movement of deliberately wanting to "provoke" the development of fascism is again a complete and unadulterated lie.

1970 BRUSSELS CONFERENCE. Mandel answered lies about Trotskyist Fourth Interna

It is true that in addition to its above-mentioned basic goals, the Fourth International firmly supports, in a spirit of solidarity with all victims of oppression and exploitation, popular mass resistance movements against oppressors, even if the rulers of these countries leave them no other avenue open for struggle but armed struggle. A similar position of support to such movements, e.g., in the Portuguese colonies, has recently been adopted by the World Council of Churches and the Swedish Social Democracy. You don't taint them with the brush of being "terrorist organizations"

→p. 2

p. 2

for that support. There is no reason to taint us with that brush either.

As a matter of fact, even the editors of Newsweek fully identify with at least one armed resistance movement against oppression, called the American War of Independence. Have they therefore adopted the philosophy of terrorism? It would also be interesting to know how they characterize the resistance movements which sprang up all through Europe against Nazi oppression, e.g., the Warsaw ghetto uprising. To my knowledge, there is only one movement which slandered these heroes as being "bandits" and "criminals": the movement of Hitler and his henchmen.

Nobody should be surprised that terrorists who happen to wield state power and, in that position, pursue their political goals by murdering thousands of innocent people — Hitler was only the most extreme example of them, and by no means the only one — call their opponents "criminal terrorists." The political function of this linguistic trick is obviously to facilitate and justify in advance mass repression, mass persecution, mass torture and, if necessary, mass killing of political opponents.

In the 1870s, an obscure terrorist made an attempt upon the life of the German Emperor William I; Bismark used the occasion to outlaw the Social Democracy for fifteen years. In 1934, the no less obscure Nikolaev murdered the local boss of Leningrad, Kirov; Stalin used that occasion to arrest, and subsequently murder, practically all his political opponents in the Communist movement of the USSR. Neither the German Social Democrats nor the Soviet Trotskyists had actually committed a single act of violence against the regimes of Emperor William I or Joseph Stalin. They were convinced that they could best further their goals under the circumstances through mass education, mass organization, and mass struggle of the working class. This, those terrorist rulers feared much more than desperate and inefficient acts of individual terrorism. Therefore they used the first occasion to suppress these political opposition movements under the pretext of "fighting terrorism."

Today, especially since May 1968, the Fourth International enjoys growing influence among revolutionary youth and workers in many countries. It tries to centralize their generous efforts at social change towards concrete and realizable political goals. This is seen by the rulers as a threat against their rule. So they attempt to organize a growing repression against us. For that purpose, a frameup on the occasion of some terrorist incident is a welcome opportunity.

Police informers and other professionals in the noble art of curtailing freedom of thought, speech, organization, and travel the world over are experts in this type of frameup. They cannot understand this simple truth: that society can only be changed through the efforts of millions, of broad social forces, and that it is ridiculous to attribute to Marxists the wish to "conspire" and to build socialism without the conscious resolution of the majority of the toilers. This is typical of the police or James Bond-type mind. But it is a disgrace to free journalism that newspapermen cooperate in such endeavors, deliberately or through sheer ignorance.

* The reference is to a congress of European Trotskyist groups held in Brussels in November 1970 at which Ernest Mandel gave a report.

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labor Challenge #66 Oct 1972

Ont. students vote for action against fee hike

by RICHARD THOMPSON

In a show of massive opposition to education spending cutbacks, more than 40,000 Ontario post-secondary students voted overwhelmingly Oct. 10-12 in favor of withholding student fees to protest higher tuition charges and lower bursary assistance. Eleven campuses participated in the referendum sponsored by the Ontario Federation of Students. Ninety percent voted for the OFS demands of reversing the cutbacks in the student aid program and retracting this year's tuition fee hike "until full public discussions have been held." Seventy-four percent agreed to withhold their fees.

The referendum deals a sharp blow to the government's projections of massive cutbacks in education spending which are underway at all levels of government and in all provinces.

Unfortunately the full scope of student opposition was not shown through the referendum. On most campuses only the OFS proposals were on the ballot. These proposals do not include clear demands to end the cutbacks or a mass action strategy to fight them. Instead they are geared to lobbying the Tory government.

At Trent University the ballot included both the OFS demands and the demands put forward by the Young Socialists: rescind the tuition fee hike, end the cutback in student aid and tax the corporations. Eighty-four percent voted for these demands while only 67 percent supported the OFS demands.

While 36 percent of Trent students favored the January fee strike, 74 percent supported the Trent Student Union proposal for a province-wide demonstration at the opening of the Legislature. The Trent results, favoring clearer, militant demands and province-wide mass action, are a major challenge to the OFS leadership which has counterposed the fee strike to mass demonstrations and compromised its demands in order to continue endless closed-door discussions with the government.

The referendum makes it absolutely clear that Ontario students oppose the cutbacks and want to act. This will be at the heart of the OFS conference Oct. 20-21 The proposal coming before the conference for a province-wide demonstration at the opening of the provincial legislature in early November can be an important part of building an effective mass campaign to defeat the cutbacks.

Big push needed to reach our goal

by GARY PORTER
Subscription drive director

With five weeks to go in the joint Labor Challenge-Young Socialist-Liberation subscription drive, the drive is quickly approaching the half-way point. By this time, we should have reached 50 percent of our goal, but so far we have reached only 32 percent across the country. Three areas are ahead — Regina, Vancouver and Ottawa. Four other areas have failed to report a single sub sold.

We have little to say this issue, because we have not heard from you. But the picture presented in the scoreboard looks bad. A big push in almost every area is necessary if we are to even come close to our goal of 3,000 new subscriptions by Nov. 18.

Sometimes, under the pressure of all the work intervening in an election campaign and the opening of the school year, we may forget the circulation of the socialist press. But that is like trying to build a house without tools. The socialist press provides the tools you need to analyse, explain and organize opposition to the capitalist system and its parties in Canada, the Liberals and Tories. The socialist press gives you the information and theory you need to understand the world situation. It educates people in a more complete and balanced way than any personal conversation or political meeting can.

So that's the challenge of Labor Challenge, Young Socialist and Liberation. We put a big effort into producing papers that are useful tools for your work, and we think they are. Now let's put the paper to use — take them everywhere you go; sell subscriptions to everyone you meet in the election campaign; canvas door-to-door in campus dormatories; sell at all political meetings.

It's not too late to make our goal and go over 3,000 subscriptions. Join the campaign!

AREA	GOAL	SOLD	PERCENT
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Vancouver	450	261	58
Ottawa	125	63	50
Edmonton	200	84	42
St. Catharines	40	16	40
York University	75	24	32
Kitchener-Waterloo-Guelph	125	37	30
Toronto	900	247	27
Peterborough	125	17	14
Montreal	275	28	10
Hull	25	2	8
Halifax	75	1	1
Hamilton	75	1	1
Victoria	10	—	—
Saskatoon	20	—	--
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Nov/72

I was even prepared to believe — or accept
what appeared to be their concept — that the
new leadership could only be built by suddenly
casting aside the old leadership

My silence at Plenum Aug/72
Followed a wrong methodology — since how long?
A new-leadership is born — Gary

It's not that I am powerless to make any change
Any change would launch me against the leadership
that appears as a more or less solid block
It would mean to take on the leadership frontally
and I would suppose hope that it breaks up
Any new-leadership has ~~to be overthrown~~ to be compelled to
some considerable degree of persons now in the leadership
— Thus the break up has to come from within — as I am
not at all prepared to face a situation that starts me off from the beginning
again

an opportunity time, atmosphere | we could have opens talked it frankly

When we had to approach a totally more real & concrete basis — the transition of leaders — you blew up all possibilities of doing so — an very funny Labor Day / 72 phenomenon

Save political and even worse methodological grounds that made more stuff or excluded

We had lots of opportunity over whole periods 66r candidly talking over the problems of leadership..of adjusm nets, close and long range, transfer of leadership. We never did for various reaoms. Probably one of the key ones has been the long series of difficulties with var ous of its components over years--Jacquie s and Joes problems in the youth, difficulties wit Dick for years on the editirial board etc. But the fact is as I gre older and [illegible] the movemen grew and new comrades moved in we never ever did take time to discuss this --
Following the Spring -pre Waterloo debacle--Gary-Mary and Dennis wanted to talk but I did not because it was all so all encompassing I did not see where it would go. I thought that it would blow the whole leadership apart into inoperativeness. Cannon's experience with a frank talk on the US CP top leavle about one another came to mind. I could only see a blow out. But they got the message of my feeling about them as a collectivity and unknown to me a couple of them Jacquie, Phil John R and possibly John S did get togtehr and among themselves decided to make moves that they thought would in some way start a transfer--b t it was hidden from me--probably not even worked out. I do not know Joh 's role in France but it would seem to me that he really started to move--for one thing he started to dissociate hi self from various things I was doing--the Maritimes actions.
I sensed the moves an even openly told them that we were not able to proceed this way--that it could only be an extended process--tht we did not have a leadership that could "take over" but they pushed continued to push, possibly it got out of hand. The editorial board meeting where John with all of them stititng their uneasily but not dissociating themselves charged me after Dick's emotional outburst agreeing that I was out to break Dick--then my resignat on from the edit board--followed by Dick's resignation as editor under Joh and Jacquies attacks two weeks later with John just having arrived for the plenum start ed the conflagration

November 3, ,972

There has never been a serious discussion on the question of Canada-US relations or Canadian nationalism on any level of the movement. The memoran dum on the use of the term Canadian nationalism was hastily withdrawn upon John R's return from Europe. I went along because the docuemtn was not sustained by data and I did not want to fight on that ground when the 1968 resolution was being challenged.
That was all back in Mid-July.
Dennis told me the other nite that Jhon Steele and John R took him aside on the way to the meeting to tell him that the document had to be dumped and they would tell him all about it later. Both Dick and John R waffled on the question of the 1968 document--John most consistantly that it was in trinsically wrong. At the plenum I did not understand the breath of the attacks on almost every concept that had been up until then accepted in our movement around this question. Nothing at all was left standing--a vertiable orgy which I was unable really satisfactorly to explain to Jack B--psycholig ical. What was behind Jack's grabbing my use of the word "movement" in descr ibing the anti-US imperialist senitment--he never explained. However when I read a discussion between LA comrades on the anti-imperialist united front advocated by Bolivians I get an inkling. Jack fears that we are going to get cuahit up in some kind of multi-class coalition--like the LA's eh. At the time of his and Barry's coming up for a di ucssion it appears that he had ne never read the Cananad-US relations document. The next time he came up--for the plenum he told me that the di cussion had gone too far at the plenum. ...that he thought that the CDa US pamphlet was valueble and if I am not mistaken generally correct. It appears that he told John R that the plenum had overcorrected.
I do not know what the new leadership's position is--and ludicrous as it would seem they too do not know hwat it is. Hence the paralysis in getting out both the political resolution and the new Canada US relations--their inability to come to grips with any aspect of this question in the whole pre federal election period---see my menorandum on Labor Challenge
We have been paying a bad a high price over the past months for the failure of this leadership to expound its views on this question--just how high is not yet clear---at what cost to our basic theory and our ability to get back onto a correct line. It is possible that the line of my thinking is wrong on this whole question and that its direction is a perilous one for the Marxist move ment--but I have no way of telling as no one has informed me of any serious or consistant criticism. Has it been correct for m to delay writing my document until they wrote theirs. I think so. I stand firmly on the 1968 resolution. They are assualting it verbally, not documented on all fronts. It is best that they put their ideas down. I have no really developed concept what their ideas are. Can we go forward as I think I am going if the foundations are under attack. Could it be that the founfations cannot be defended by any other means than by cutting across all their prejudices and xtxxxxxxxxxx cutting the Gordian knot by leaping forward regardless. This is a course I am frightened of carrying all the more because I am not prepared at this stage to toss aside what would appear to be this entire leadership. I do not think thet they or any sizeable portion could make the turn if I am proven right and they would be shattered. While to some extent they are the best grounded in our ideas they tend to be so unsure of themselves and so much an office leadership that they are least able of all to make any necessary turn--they are under a great conservative mmood. Whereas those mist inclined to be ready for a change tend to be less grounded in our ideas and therefore I am posed with the hhallenge of starting to build a new leadership pretty w well from scratch--draw a balance sheet of this leadership that has collaps sed several times over the past couple of years. -----30-

NB the leadership is trying to start the discussion but the danger is that it will be a rubber stamp discussion because of the tremendous pressure at a time when we are supposed to be carrying out in some way a transfer of leadership x

Incedently I convinced Gary not to take on the West Bz leadership & Dennis going onto Provincial executive — Gary was able to convince the executive to put another person onto executive. Janes evaluation of Ned x

RD's written notes on a note to self on the growing crisis in the Canadian movement, and particularly at a plenum just held in Toronto, with Jack (Barnes, the new younger leader of the US- SWP attending).

NB: ''...What was behind Jack's grabbing my use of the word 'movement' in describing the anti-US imperialist sentiment – he never explained. However when I read a discussion between LA (Los Angeles) comrades on the anti-imperialist united front advocated by Bolivians I get an inkling. Jack fears that we are going to get caught up in some kind of multi-class coalition *– like the LA's eh. At the time of his and Barry (Sheppard's) coming up for a discussion it appears that he had never read the Canada-US relations document. The next time he came up – for the plenum he told me that the discussion had gone too far at the plenum...''

? The (LSA) leadership is trying to fight this danger by pretending the problem doesn't exist – ignoring and (with) ritualistic incantations about nationalism being bourgeois – at a time when we are supposed to be carrying out in some way a transfer of leadership.

Incidentally I convinced Gary not to take on the West Branch leadership re Dennis going onto the branch executive – Gary was able to convince the executive to add another person onto the executive. Zane's evaluation of Ned.

Dear comrades November 9, 1972

I hope that the bureau has discussed my letter protesting the situation in the political committee meetings. No one has spoken to me about this matter and I have been unacquained with anything that would tell me what you intend to do about my correspon dence and its contention. I was not invited to a bureau meeting to hear or participate in any discussion --assuming that you had one.

Yes there is another meeting of the PC tonight.

I purposely wrote the bureau--and not the pc. Do you intend to take this matter up at the pc meeting tonight or are you expecting me to procede by raising it there since you have to my knowledge done nothing about this correspondence at the bureau level.

please inform me of your intention so that I can determine what I should do.

comradely

Ross Dowson

I of course consider this a most important matter--involving the value of participating in the political committee.

While Canada has an advanced capitalist ecoconmy with a strong capitalist class in state power, and is imperialist, Canada is rapidly approcahing economic integration with the United ttates

Wh ile we do not consider that this fact projects any ppecial nation al tasks (with respect to English-Canada alliances of anykind with the Canadian capitaliat class or any part of them-the enemy is in our own country) wethink that this economic integration of Canada with the most poerful imperialist power in the world will extend and deepen responses within the ranks of the working class which we have characterized as anti-US imperilist and which should now be called natilnaisit---a nationalism which has been developing to a anti capitalist consciousness which we must identify with in order to effectively propafandize our revolutionary socialist views and buld the Trotskyist party.

We reject the document Canada and the Crisis of World imperialism because we consider that it essentially rejects the line of the docuement Canada US relations which we adopted at our 1968 convention. We thinkthat the 1968 document requires some changes and adjsutments in the light of the important developments over the past four years however it is in our opinion one of the most pre cious achiemvment of our movement and is t provides the only correct basis from which we can more for ard

The docu,emt-Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism fails to deal with the domination of Canada by US imperialism and where it does deal touch on it it is entirely isuffienct if not wrong. It is incorrect in its characterization of the Canadian capitalist class from the point of view of its position in Canada and its investments on a world scale that it is a powerful capitalist class--in relation to the United States capitalist class

The crisis of world imperialism focusing in on the US as the chief cap impeiralist italist power does not allow greater independence of Canadian capita;ism but an increasing need to adjust to the domination of

2

This fact is certain to tender US imperialism at adopt an even more ruthless expolitative role of the Cana dian rescourses and the working class of Canada--and to heighten the struggle against the Candian capitalist class for its defence of US capitialisms thrust to economically integrae Canada--which we consider if not already realized to be inevitbale.

Submitted to BC Minutes - corrected copy Nov 14/72

Are you defining, even when there is a kwnown division in the movement and the question is a matter of debate in the ~~[illegible]~~ discussion prior to a convention, that ~~a vote of~~ by a plenum ~~support of~~ pre convention documentation ~~by [illegible]~~ prepared for submission to the convention where the official line of the movement is to be decided ~~[illegible]~~ does of and by itself determine the line of the movement up until the convention--even when ~~they are~~ there's a complete change of line from that adopted by the previous convention(Canada-US Relations 1968) and there is no ~~emergency~~ apparent x

Following the 1968 convention the official line of our movement on Canada US Relations was the document of that name adopted at ~~the~~ that convnetion. With the last plenum's adoption of a motion stating opposition to bourgeois nationalism and instructing the preparation of ~~[illegible]~~ a new document on this question in line with the discussion at the plenum, was the 1968 position superseded--and by what ? With the presentation of the document Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism, not yet adopted by other than a PC meeting, although presumably in line with the plenum discussion, does that become the line of the movement? With its adoption by this plenum does that document supersede the 1968 document although it has yet to be adopted by an official convention of the movement

en to Gary

Yesterday November 20 1972 comrade Gary Porter asked me if I would attned a meeting of comrades (I gather the political bureau to recitpate in a preliminary discussion on the political resolution. I am unable to do this--all the more that we now have in our hands the document on Canada US Relations (Canada and the crisis of world imperialism) with which I am in fundamental disagreement and which happens to be a key element in any political resolution that I would support. I am for the defeat of the above document and a replacemtn of it with a document carrying a totally different line. In the process of the only two meetings that I was invited to participate in discussion of the Canada an the crisis document(I happen to b a member of the PC and these two meetings one on top of the other were called for a formal vote by the PC.) I proved completely unable to affect in the slightest way the line of the document. When I claimed that the economic facts underlying the line were wrong--affirming that the line was wrong comrade Steele blandly said we will get the facts necessary to sustain our line. When I gave figures to show that we could not deal wit h the US takeover even in the old plane of 1968--that a process of such dynamism was at work that balsted the line of your Canada and th e Crisies document comrade Gary Poert blandly commented that the last fiaure that I gave to demonstrate the dynamism was so and so percentage and not quite the picture what I tried to make it on that basis. It was obvious then and with the appearance of the reworked version for the convention that my particiration in that meeting (a meeting of the PC) was used by the leadership to attempt to patch the document up a bit to remove some of the most outrageous factual absurdities in order to sustain a completely false line, trasnapreen ly clearly not based on facts. My participation at the PC meeting is one thing but I have no desire to participate in some other kind of meeting where I can only be used as an editriael advisor to help form up a false line.

Submission to the East Toronto Branch, November 28, 1972.

In view of the considerable and important differences that are revealing themselves as the documentation for the coming convention becomes available it might strike comrades as odd that we should get involved in a matter concerning the movement's policy with regards to day care within the movement.

However this problem seems to me is symptomatic of some of our larger problems. Furthermore in the course of the discussion some comrades in opposing a proposition that our movement should allocate resources for daycare of comrade's and possibly close sympathizer's children, have expressed concepts that tend to place our movement in opposition to motherhood and to children.

Our movement is opposed to the family, to the institution of the nuclear family--but in now way opposes motherhood-childbearing, child rearing or children. To have or not have a child and to rear it is a personal matter. However in passing we would note that there is a strong thread running through our history that identifies us with children and youth as a vital hope for the future of humankind freed from the many forms of capitalist enslavement...hence the many pictures widely circulated of Marx, Lenin and other leaders of our movement playing with babies and young children.

Our movement has always when possible allocated resources to child care. Until the facilities became needed for other purposes we had the best room in our central headquarters allocated to a combined childcare and conference room. This room in our budget is worth approximately 80 dollars a month and was outfitted with expensive cabinets to hold toys that we accumulated.

Some comrades appear to think that this policy that up until now we have followed tends to turn us from a revolutionary organization into a welfare institution. It does no such thing.

We have never assigned comrades to childcare--we have always handled this on a volunteer basis centered around the parents. But we allocated resources. The purpose w s to permit comrades who have children, and unfortunately it has been usually the women who has had the chief responsibility to care for the children, to come out of the routine of the home and to get into the affairs of the movement--to play as full a role as possible in the movement--to not be barred from coming to branch meetings and forms, etc., etc., to do administrative and political work of the movement.

That this matter can come up the way it has and at this time seems to us to reflect the fact that the radicalization that has brought new forces to our movement has not yet influenced any sizeable number of workers, and our movement is temporarily composed largely of young men and women who have decided not to have children.

That decision on the part of many of our comrades is a strictly personal one. Some comrades have decided otherwise and many working class women and men continue to have children. Whatever the decision -- we are involved in the results. We intend to, we must make it possible for us to recruit young men and women who already have a family and want to play a role in our movement.

That is why child care cannot possibly by considered by us as a personal matter for parents. It is false to raise the possibility of difficulties, even law suits to block us from having a correct position on this matter and attempting to do something about it.

Since we are by no means opposed to children coming to our headquarters--it would bar the parents--we have to find the facilities and as a general policy allocate resources according to our ability, so workers with children can play a role in our movement.

Ross Dowson.

To the political bureau

ber 28 ,1972

Motio to postpone the convention of the LSA/LSO now s. ed for Jan 4-5-6-7-
with the August plenum of the Executive committee w ich saw the with drawal of the womens liberation document all the documents that had been previously prepared were withdrawn.
The redrafted womens liberation document has been availa ble to the membership across Cana da for only a couple of weeks
The line of the document Canada and the crisis of World Imperialism, an ancillary document to the political resolution was adopted by the PC on November 14 and the document is only now getting into the hands of the cross-Canada movement. The first presentat on in Toronto is ta taking place November 28
The draft of the Q ebec document of some 51 pages of sing e spaced copy came into the hands of the PC members on November 26. A meeting of the PC held 24 hours later heard the reporter withdraw the first 8 pages and we have been assured of a redraft within 24 hours on the proposition that the document be adopted 24 hours later on November 2 9. Even on such a crash basis that document would take another 10 days at least to get into the hands of the cross Canada membership.
The Political resolution reading at this time on the stage of becoming a workin draft. It is hard to believe that it could be got into the hands of the membership until well into December.
and what about contributions from the field that can only be t~~xxxxxxxxx~~about wit the receipt of the PC docume nts, that have to be stencilled mimeographed and shipped back across the country.
It would seem obvious despite the great concentration of effort that the discussion cannot unfold as it should within the ranks of the movement in time for it to meet the old schedule and that the conven ion shoul d be postponed to a later date

comradely

Ross Dowson

The PB saw fit to bring a report on this letter to the PC on Nivember 29-72
John R 's report was a lengthy and tortuourous attack on it which of course ignored to main problem--feed back from the field ~~is~~-made a great to do about how we all know the differences and have known them for months and months and months. I asked for the floor after this diatribe and humbly apologized for having even dared to send a letter , so simple and naive and resulting in such a salvo of touche's(Dick had shouted bravo-touche at a point in approval of John R's arguemtn

Jut prevaiously John took up the question of the comrades going to the IEC--he saaid that I (as with Erne) was unable to go--I corrected him aand ment oned my letter to the bureau which never to this day invited me to discuss it--wherein I said I was unwilling to go because of the obvious fact that I had neither the political confid dence or good will of this leadership and therefore could not represent them.

Comments on Toronto branch meeting November 28,1972

Following the dicsuccion on the women's liberation document there was a report on womens liberation work by Ellen May on behalf of the fraction. The essense of the report was that we are cutting back on all our work in the womens liberation area except raising funds--it appears thatbwe owe Loran her wages--there is now no one on staff. The paper will not be coming out until a month or two, the town hall meeting for which they have a grant of some $800 will not be coming off--postponed for a couple of months. The reasons are the heavy involvement of the comrades--you guessed it--in the convention of the LSA-YS. Someone asked about the paper Spokeswomen-- very halitingly it was report that the last issue no 2 was dated last June. so that it would appear to all intenst and purposes the paper is defunt.

Then Joe gave a series seven! of reports from the executive. One of them was on the press. It was defined by the executive(metro?) that there would be no discussion on the politics of the paper period that anyone wanting to do this could disduss with the editor or write to the political committee. There was great protest wherein I intervened to suggest that I did not hear Joe correctly that there was a problem that we of course want to discuss circulation and utilization of the paper and not be sidetracked from this type of discussion by various contributions on articles in the paper dealing with line. The latterx was extremely important and had to be discucced in the branch but time had to be allocated to this--that the editors needed feedback from the ranks and the members had a perfect right to discuss the paper and were even requred to do so--but it was best that this be done on an arranged basis, pllanned. Everyone agreed

Another report on the negotiations with the Red Circle. The report from the Metro Ex or possibly the Political bureau was about 6 lines of copy with a stricture that anyone furtherinterested should contact the CO. Even larger protest broke out, particularly from comrades working in the NDP with Red Circle people Scomoro moved that the report be referred back as being completely inadequate. Both Jaquie and Phil tried to intervene by filling the report out a bit--that RC was being invited to the convention--obviously out of order but went on. The Scomoro motion carried with great gusto.

The next report was a lengthy and very petulatn directive with regards to comrades conduct wit regards to IB's and disuussions that someone might have with non members about internal affiars. --how we shouldn't leave IB's on subway trains. Hard to say to whom this was addressed. Surely not myself having given Andre B the international bulletin which I told John R I had done and he agreed in personal conversation--not likely but who knows.

Anotehr report was on Day care by our movement for special party events--long written report in part if not all written by Gary which I do not recall whether it deals with how it comes up---a motion that would expend about $50 a year toe cover four metro assemblies. Pat M gave a counter report--generally correct but played into the hands of anyone who might try to make it look like we think the movement is some kind of welfare operation. In the process she challenged that there is a strong anti-motherhood and antich ld atmosphere in our movement- This evoked protests so she named incidents and names. I read out my written presentation--and the meeting adjourned Peter H came over enthusiastic and asked for a copy of my report. The discussion had to be postponed. Sharon patted me on the back after as an expression of approval.

On Sunday November 26 I phoned Vern G and he said he was anxious that we hold a limited meeting of some of the older comrades--I said that I wanted to inform them of what was ahppening in the movement and in particular to prepare them for my contribution on the Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism. Hugh, Vic, Vern and Anne and myself were there --Vern expressed great uneasiness about the ultra left atmosphere around the movement

---

and there is considerable working class weight in it, unfortunately but it is a fact, by no means exercising a radical influence on NDP policy for some period now. No matter how you examine Young and Riddell's explanation of what they call "our present orientation", in this respect too it is by no means an accurate presentation of what it has been, and as a projection can only disorient our forces.

The slogan "Win the NDP to Socialism" defended in our 1970 document came under heavy attack from the RCT. Its absence from Riddell and Young's outline of "the present orientation of the LSA/LSO" could be due to a number of reasons. But it is quite clear that they do not defend it. It has already been pulled down from League halls and another substituted in its place. "Fight for socialist policies in the NDP."

Slogans are only approximations and often only express our views for a limited period. The slogan "Fight for socialist policies in the NDP" would appear to be much more in keeping with a tactical attitude to the NDP than what we have called our strategic orientation to the NDP. It is in keeping with a portion of LSA members doing fraction work with a short term split perspective, and not with all LSAers possible holding NDP membership and doing fraction work with a non-split perspective.

In the slogan "Fight for socialist policies in the NDP" could we not just as easily substitute for the letters NDP the name of almost any other organization in which we might have a portion of comrades doing fraction work? This latter slogan contains no concept of how the LSA as an independent and public expression of Trotskyism has always understood the centrality of the NDP to all its work. It gives no guidance to comrades working in the NDP and to persons who may be coming our way. Instead of posing a struggle for the leadership of the class against the liberal-reformist NDP leadership, it poses a fight for undefined policies for an undefined period . As for the RCT's claim that the slogan "Win the NDP to Socialism" appearing on the walls and press of the Trotskyist cadre organization, spreads illusions about the NDP -- that we think the NDP actually can make the revolution,-is this to be taken any more seriously than claims that many other slogans we have promoted such as "For a Red University", "For a Labor Administration in City Hall", etc. spread illusions about the essential nature of the university and the nature of city hall -- a bourgeois institution?

We don't want to haggle over words, but whatever the shortcomings of "Win the NDP to Socialism" the slogan "Fight for Socialist Policies in the NDP" is not a substitute. Quite the contrary. The latter slogan would flow logically from a policy of abandonment of our longstanding orientation to the NDP.

OUR ORIENTATION AND ENTRISM

Young and Riddell affirm that our orientation to the NDP is not one of "an entry into the NDP." Elsewhere they say that the Canadian movement is opposed to entry sui generis. The term "entry sui generis" means an entry of a special type, different to entries into reformist formations that had been established as correct previously by our movement such as Trotsky's proposal that the French comrades enter the French SP, and the experience of the SWP with the Socialist Party of the US in the thirties. The trouble with entry sui generis is that there is no common concept of what it means. It is very difficult to reject out of hand what is called an entry of a special type. What the Canadians Trotskyists rejected was how some Canadian supporters of entry sui generis conceived of it at a certain time in Canada. It turned out that what they proposed we should practise was liquidationism into the reformist labor party. We also rejected it as we came to understand how many of our European comrades practised it for a period.

We have never at any time described or conceived our orientation to the NDP as an entry -- either of a special type or as an entry of any other kind. It is an orientation, within which for a time we happened to conduct an entry, but it itself is not an entry into, but an orientation to the NDP.

When the Canadian labor party took on the form of the New Democratic Party we actually strengthened and firmed up the public and independent expressions of Canadian Trotskyism to where we now publish a monthly youth paper and two twice monthly papers, one in English and the other in French.

But having said that we should not at all pretend that the NDP is just an important work area and that we have had merely a tactical stance to the NDP/CCF now for some two decades. It is within that framework, in harmony with the RCT's line he supports, that Germain attacks our orientation. And we must say that this is the framework accepted by Young and Riddell in their reply. It is quite misleading to pretend that the Canadian Trotskysists have been functioning in their relationship to the labor party formation in their country in much the same way as some other Trotskyist organizations where there are also labor party or social democratic party formations; for instance, in the same way as the International Marxist Group in Great Britain where there is a powerful labor party formation.

The Canadian Trotskyists do not have a relationship to the NDP that parallels in any way the relationship that we understand the IMG has to the British Labor Party. Nearly all comrades belong to the Canadian labor party, some are very active within it, hold leading posts in it and are not publicly known as members of the LSA/LSO. Because the League is a proscribed organization by the NDP brass, many comrades use pseudonyms in their internal work in the League.

The League does not parade around with the banner of the Fourth International, or wave the hammer and sickle at every opportunity. It does not declare here, there and everywhere that it is the Canadian Section of the Fourth International. While it doesn't hide it, it doesn't headline it either, and has followed a policy, while adhering to the line of the Fourth International, of publishing all the official statements of the Fourth International as information to its readers. It has given up some of the forms of other Trotskyist sections all the better to employ the essence of Trotskyism in the Canadian context.

We should not cloud this question by assuming an "orthodox" front, by presenting our orientation in quite a different frame of reference than it has been. We should communicate our experience to all the sections of the Fourth International as we did by submitting our 1970 document to the world discussion. We should defend our position as it has been.

Young and Riddell, all the more in the light of these comments, may object that their "Some Starting Points for an NDP Debate" with comrade Germain is an insufficient document. We agree completely. However, while it is insufficient it is regrettably all that they have given us as to their thinking or the direction of their thinking.

The Young/Riddell document suddenly appearing in the international discussion dealing with an fundamental aspect of our work, over which there has been developing unease during the past year, unhappily confirms our worst fears.

Our failure to make any gains from the Waffle left wing experience in the NDP and the inevitable questioning that this would give rise about our orientation, the increasing pressure of ultrleftism on our movement, the development of an ultraleft current within our ranks which centered its attack on our NDP orientation, posed serious challenges to us. The response of the central leadership failed to defend our orientation. Rather, our press, with growing frequency has published a whole series of articles showing a clear trend to a sectarian revision of our line amounting to an abandonment of our orientation.

Warning to Canadian Trotskyists

(Version A -- Ed.)

Although grave damage has been done to our orientation there is still time to call a halt. The red lights are flashing. The comrades who have united in the Labor Party Tendency are alarmed at this process of abandonment of our NDP orientation, the most important acquisition of Canadian Trotskyism, an orientation that remains the fundamental cornerstone of non-sectarian revolutionary politics. We must note that the direction that the LSA/LSO is moving in on this most important question unleashes a certain dynamic -- one which will necessarily lead to a qualitative transformation of the LSA/LSO.

(Version B -- Ed.)

Although grave damage has been done to our orientation, there is still time to call a halt. The red lights are flashing. The comrades who have joined in the Labor Party Tendency are alarmed at the abandonment of the most important acquisition of Canadian Trotskyism, an orientation that remains for us the fundamental cornerstone of our politics. We note that a certain dynamic is necessarily involved in this revision, one which will inevitably result in a qualitative transformation of the LSA/LSO. If the LSA/LSO does not halt this process of abandonment of our NDP orientation, it will cease to be Trotskyist.

(48)

Warning to Cdn Trotskyists

Although grave damage has been done to our orientation there is still time to call a halt. The red lights are flashing. The comrades who have united in the Labor Party Tendency are alarmed at this process of abandonment of our NDP orientation, the most important acquisition of Canadian Trotskyism, an orientation that remains the fundamental cornerstone of non-sectarian revolutionary politics. We must note that the direction that the LSA/LSO is moving in on this most important question unleashes a certain dynamic---one which will necessarily lead to a qualitative transformation of the LSA/LSO

2 versions of back page —

Ernie hell of a way to start discussion with a tendency declared freeze

Ross 'pose — ultimatum —
interest to hear — Bourgeois govt
Ross posed the written document —
NDP a question of tactics — some say it is a principle
2 wings have operated 2 diff tactics
when Comrade says you don't adopt he is saying it's a principle.
Ross says what I said was a tactic not a principle
Can't hang it on basis of ultimatus + threats

Phil = never full discussion in leadership —
never were able to do this
provocation — Ross — a set up — could have been avoided by
single thing — find facts — infer base motives
~~Matthew~~ RD said about discussion on principle only a part
Discussion not behind backs of movement —
NDP attee — at a certain point it went to DC — DC took a position
Position put to members of Van Bx
Joan N — — our fears about reformism + structural burn out in life

NDP 72

FOR A NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN 1972

With the municipal elections one year away the New Democratic Party is faced with the challenge of immediately launching a campaign for an NDP municipal government in 1972.

The need for a City Hall government that represents Toronto's working people has never been clearer. Tenants' organizations, ratepayers groups, pollution committees are growing. Demands are continually raised for rapid transit, low cost housing, parkland and child care centres. People are more and more prepared to act and to fight for their needs, which the present City government, dominated by the developers, real estate interests, big business and their Liberal and Tory spokesmen cannot meet.

Who should run City Hall is the question. And it is the same one now raised on the Provincial and Federal levels of government - big business or the working people?

The answer is the same on all three levels. The alternative to big business rule is the NDP, the mass political party firmly rooted in the organizations of the working people of this country. It is no accident that the NDP has a program to meet the needs of the overwhelming majority of city dwellers. With 10,000 members in the Metro area plus thousands of affiliated members in the trade unions, and the support of the Metro Toronto Labor Council representing over 120,000 people, the NDP is in fact the political party of the working people, in the factories, offices, homes, schools, throughout Toronto.

In the last elections, the NDP made the first step into municipal politics. At the time the campaign lacked focus without a mayorality candidate and without ongoing actions to deepen its roots. It is generally recognized, however, that the NDP members that were elected succeeded in presenting a unified and consistant stand to City Council. This was in sharp contrast to the now defunct coalition of individuals called CIVAC.

The NDP now has a clear responsibility to carry this step forward in into the 1972 elections with a full slate of candidates headed by a mayorality candidate.

CO72 a new and expanded version of CIVAC is no substitute for the NDP. In fact it stands in the way of an NDPcity government. It is a block to a City Hall that represents Toronto's working people. Time and again, in Toronto and cities across Canada coalitions of reform minded individuals, even those with tight links to community organizations, have been proven to be abject failures when it comes to the problem of kicking the developers and big business out of City Hall.

(over)

The political ferment that CO72 reflects can only be consolidated into a united political force powerful enough to take over City Hall on the basis of a clear concrete program which is aimed unequivocally against the Liberal and Tory agents now dominating in the City Hall chambers. This political force is the NDP.

The key question is not one of increased citizens involvement with community organizers. The key question is one of political power for the community as a whole - that is the vast majority, the working people. For far too long the big business "community" has been able to use the many divisions between the working people to maintain its control of City Hall. The result - increasing pollution, inadequate housing, decreasing parkland, scarcely any child care centres and all the rest.

There was a good deal of talk about leadership during the recent provincial election. There never was a better or more crucial time for the NDP and the labor movement to give that leadership. Failure to do so would be to abandon the majority of Torontonians to the Liberals and Tories and the illusions fostered by CO 72.

In this event, the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists which have consistently fought for an NDP city government over the years are prepared to enter a slate of candidates headed by a mayorality candidate to provide a clear class alternative to the working people of Toronto.

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Dec/72 ?

a letter (not sent to the editor of LC by RD) at the time of the formation of the left caucus of the NDP

It is suprising that the newly formed NDP left caucus would hold to the idea that the party's leadership "wants to abandon the NDP's traditional identifc ation with the labor movement" as reported by Mark Gans

The NDP brass certainly at this whole stage of the party's development can no more abandon identification with the union movement than a human being can abandon its heart

Its failure of the brass to fully identify itself with the labor movement in various noted instances flows from opportunist capitaluation and adaptation to the BIg Bus iness anti-unionism and in particular its impact on brad layers of the population that the brass hopes the party. Electorally they think they have labor ~~in their~~ firmly in their poacket.

It is a serious mistake from the point of view of the working class and the party--but the brass are not stupid--they are just opportunist.

I understand that some elements in the left caucus were posing the need for it to lead a campaign against certain scab herding operations. It is doubtful that the NDP or any serious part of it can teahc the union brass of this need. To think that the left wing of the union movement can be built by such gimmicks, including the Waffle sponsored auto comference is to seriously underestimate even the trade union brass. You have to talk program to take the misleaders on

I think Gans comments on the old Waffle--re-independence and socialism miss the point. but probably you will deal with ths more fully shorlty

Written & not turned in as I saw the whole issue permeated with this line

labor Challenge

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#67 Nov 1972

HANDS OFF VIETNAM!

see page 6-8

Saigon dictatorship of Nguyen Van Thieu has launched widespread repression backed by U.S. military. Thieu hopes to consolidate power on eve of Vietnam accord.

Voters' discontent poses challenge for NDP

by THE EDITORS

At Labor Challenge press time, the morning after the Oct. 30 election, the voting returns are still not clear as to whether we'll face a Liberal or a Conservative minority government. But no matter. We agree with Donald MacDonald president of the Canadian Labor Congress, who told the press that, between the big business parties, "It's Tweedledee and Tweedledum as far as we're concerned."

NDP leader David Lewis was equally correct to reject out of hand suggestions that the New Democratic Party might form a coalition government with one of the old-line capitalist parties. He "would not consider it," Lewis stated, adding that the 30 NDP MPs would use their strategic position in parliament to press for action on the key issues the party has stressed during the campaign. "We will not go for token reforms."

The NDP platform includes demands for higher old age pensions, more public housing, measures to shift the tax load from individuals to large corporations, and to curb rising food costs. The party also calls for massive public works to reduce unemployment, including construction of housing, sewage treatment plants, public transit systems and day care centers.

Holding the balance of power, according to the peculiar workings of the parliamentary

→P.2

Self-determination for the Vietnamese people!

labor Challenge
#67 Nov 1972

photo by MacInnis

Henry Kissinger

No Canadian troops to Vietnam!

RESULTS OF U.S. BARRAGE. North Vietnamese city Haiphong has taken greatest bombardment of any urban area. Twenty thousand buildings have been destroyed, and 70,000 people have been killed, injured or made homeless.

Will Vietnam agreement bring peace?

Meaning of U.S.-Hanoi accord

Meaning of U.S.-Hanoi accord

(From Labor Challenge, November 1972)

by JON ROTHSCHILD
Intercontinental Press (SWP-USA)

For more than a week, the rumor mills in the world's capitals have been working overtime, making all they could out of a single theme: Henry Kissinger's secret talks with North Vietnamese leaders in Paris have resulted in an agreement; a cease-fire in the decade-long Indochina war was imminent. Reporters in Washington virtually besieged the White House, waiting for Richard Nixon to announce to the American people: Here is peace.

On Oct. 26, Radio Hanoi cut through the rumors and announced in an English-language broadcast that Hanoi and Washington had in fact come to an accord for ending the fighting: "With a view to making the negotiations progress, at a private meeting on Oct. 8, 1972, the DRVN *(Democratic Republic of Vietnam North)* took an extremely important initiative: It put forward a draft agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, and proposed that the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and the government of the United States of America, with the concurrence of the government of the Republic of Vietnam, immediately agree upon and sign this agreement to rapidly restore peace in Vietnam."

The agreement, which Hanoi insists the United States agreed to sign on Oct. 31, was summarized by North Vietnam in nine points. But its essential features can be described more briefly. There will be an immediate ceasefire in Vietnam, including a halt to all U.S. bombing; U.S. troops will be withdrawn within 60 days of the signing of the agreement; simultaneously, prisoners of war will be exchanged by the two sides.

The Thieu government will remain in office in Saigon and will continue to administer all territory under its control at the time the agreement is signed. The Provisional Revolutionary Government will be recognized as the lawful authority in all areas concurrently under its control. Neither of the two governments, according to the agreement, will attempt to expand its area of influence.

The South Vietnam Accord

In regard to the regime and social structure of South Vietnam — the heart of the civil war itself — the agreement, according to Hanoi's radio broadcast, states the following (point four):

*"The South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of South Vietnam through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision; the United States is not committed to any political tendency or to any personality in South Vietnam, and it does not seek to impose a pro-American regime in Saigon:

*"National reconciliation and concord will be achieved, the democratic liberties of the people ensured;

*"An administrative structure called the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments, will be set up to promote the implementation of the signed agreements by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the government of the Republic of Vietnam, and to organize the general elections, the two South Vietnamese parties will consult about the formation of councils at a lower level;

*"The question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam shall be settled by the two South Vietnamese parties in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, equality and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the postwar situation;

*"Among the questions to be discussed by the two South Vietnamese parties are steps to reduce the military numbers on both sides and to demobilize the troops being reduced;

*"The two South Vietnamese parties shall sign an agreement on the internal matters of South Vietnam as soon as possible and will do their utmost to accomplish this within three months after the cease-fire comes into effect."

In this agreement, the United States made two concessions to Hanoi: U.S. forces will be withdrawn from Vietnam, and North Vietnamese forces will remain in South Vietnam for an indefinite period. The fact that U.S. imperialism was forced to yield on these points represents a significant achievement for both the Vietnamese people and for the worldwide antiwar movement.

Hanoi's concessions

But Hanoi made concessions as well. The essence of them is contained in point four of the agreement. The long-standing demand that the cessation of military hostilities be accompanied by a political solution to the civil war in the south was dropped.

Hanoi and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front abandoned their demand that the Thieu regime be eliminated, and their insistence on the formation of a coalition government comprising elements of the present Saigon administration, the Provisional Revolutionary Government and "neutralist" forces.

Hanoi has acceded to the continued existence of the Thieu regime, and thus to the continued existence of an imperialist foothold in South Vietnam. The basic character of that concession was universally recognized in the U.S. press, which generally expressed satisfaction with the terms of the accord.

The Wall Street Journal (Oct. 27), the voice of a substantial section of the U.S. financial elite, called the settlement terms "quite favorable," and "an honest reflection of the battlefield result." Hanoi's offer, the Journal's editors noted, reflected a "will to settle;" the United States appeared to be on the verge of achieving its "human objectives."

The New York Times (Oct. 27), for several years a critic of Nixon's Vietnam policy and recently an endorser of the candidacy of George McGovern, also greeted the proposed

agreements: "Long-overdue concessions on both sides have produced a document that realistically recognizes a military stalemate and transfers the struggle for power in South Vietnam to the political arena where it has always belonged."

Even the *New York Daily News,* (Oct. 27), which represents little within the U.S. ruling class but whose opinions on this matter have significance because of the editors' notorious jingoist politics, endorsed the agreement as a Nixon victory: "In essence, Hanoi accepted the proposal Nixon made last May 8, when he ordered intensified bombing of North Vietnam and mining of northern harbors."

The real cause of the jubilation in the U.S. capital and press lies not only in the nature of the agreement that appears to have been reached, but in the fact the negotiations come to any conclusion at all. In fact, no matter what its contents, it lends an aura of legitimacy to the U.S. invasion of Indochina, and gives the impression that the United States had a justified reason for intervening.

Newspapers, and even sections of the ruling class, have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the war had been a total loss and that the United States was forced to leave Indochina with no cover whatsoever for its war crimes. Suddenly, the proposed agreement is produced saving U.S. "face" and granting a formal recognition of the premise that the United States did in fact have something to negotiate in Indochina.

The North Vietnamese leaders themselves, while attempting to portray the agreement as a basic victory for the liberation struggle, recognize that they had made important concessions. The Oct. 30 *New York Timess* published an article by Richard J. Dornet, co-director of Institute for Policy Studies and a longtime critic of U.S. policy in Indochina. Dornet, along with several other figures around the antiwar movement, were invited Oct. 27 to "hear a clarification of the views" of the North Vietnamese and PRG delegations in Paris on the subject of the agreement.

North Vietnamese deputy minister Nguyen Minh Vy and PRG foreign minister Nguyen Thi Binh, Dornet wrote, "recognize that a standstill cease-fire involves risks, particularly since they have relaxed their previous demand that president Nguyen Van Thieu's regime and 'Thieu's repressive apparatus' be dismantled before the fighting stops."

That the Vietnamese have made major concessions to U.S. imperialism, dropping even their demand for a dubious coalition government, is indisputable. The forces compelling the concessions are not difficult to locate. They are in Washington, in Moscow, and in Peking.

The Vietnamese people have, during the past decade, provided the world with an unparalleled example of courage and heroism in resisting, virtually alone, the most massive campaign of destruction ever seen in human history. The intensity of the assault by the world's mightiest power against a small, underdeveloped country stands not only as a monument to the courage of the Vietnamese people and as a condemnation of the barbarism of U.S. imperialism, but also as a mark of shame for the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking.

The depths of the destruction caused by U.S. imperialism has yet to be established with

certainty. Statistics on the number of NLF and North Vietnamese troops killed are unavailable, as are reliable estimates on the number of innocent civilians murdered. But just as important, it is not known what effect the bombing has had on the morale of the South Vietnamese population. Have the leaders of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front concluded that political conditions among the population make further intense fighting impossible?

USSR-China betrayal

If that is the case, and if their estimate is accurate, the shame is that not of the Vietnamese people, but of the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking who have allowed the U.S. ruling class to perpetuate such horrors.

Moscow and Peking's betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution has been epitomized in the role those capitals have played in extorting the present agreement from Hanoi. It is but a part of a long history of perfidy.

When the bourgeois regime in Egypt ascertained further Israeli expansion, Moscow sent weaponry of an advanced type that was never delivered to the revolutionary forces in South Vietnam nor to the workers' state in North Vietnam. Egypt was provided with ground-to-sea missiles that effectively neutralized the power of the Israeli navy. The Vietnamese, who could have used such equipment to drive the seventh fleet from their shores, had to rely on conventional artillery.

The Egyptian regime received Mig-23 jet-fighters that are superior to the U.S. F-4 Phantom, even though operation of them was restricted to Soviet pilots. The North Vietnamese had to make do with obsolescent earlier-generation aircraft. The most advanced surface-to-air missiles were delivered to Cairo, but not to Hanoi.

The Peking bureaucracy, while doubtless not able to provide military aid on the level that Moscow could have, doled out its contributions with an eyedropper. In the spring of 1972, the Maoist bureaucracy, while claiming to have given the Vietnamese every assistance possible, came up with $300 million worth of military aid for Pakistani butcher, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The Pentagon Papers demonstrate that at each stage in the escalation of the war, U.S. strategists paused to weigh carefully the response from Moscow and Peking, always fearing that a full response would cost the United States more than the war was worth. In each case, Moscow and Peking's failure to respond has paved the way for a fresh escalation.

Solidarity undercut

But the Moscow-Peking betrayal was not only military. Both capitals, and especially Moscow, unfortunately command the allegiance of millions in the international workers movement, millions who could have been mobilized in a massive worldwide campaign to force U.S. imperialism out of Indochina. But no call for a united-front defense of the Vietnamese revolution was forthcoming from the Stalinist bureaucracies. In fact, in many countries, the political parties in solidarity with Moscow and Peking opposed each action.

With such a history, it should surprise no one that pressure from Moscow and Peking played a role in Hanoi's acceptance of the current agreement. In the Oct. 27 *Washington Post*, correspondent Stanley Karnow noted: "The Soviet Union and China played a significant behind-the-scenes role in persuading the North Vietnamese leaders to work toward the compromise settlement of the war that now appears to be emerging."

In the opinion of U.S. "analysts," Nixon's Peking and Moscow trips, Karnow wrote, were "designed, in part at least, to urge the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union to exert pressure on North Vietnam to agree to a compromise end to the war . . .

"A key incentive offered to Peking was the promise made by the president during his China trip in February that peace in Vietnam would result in the withdrawal of U.S. forces from the island of Taiwan. . . .

"Both negative and positive signs after that indicated plainly that the Chinese were eager to see a Vietnam settlement, and they reportedly communicated this view to the Hanoi leaders in private communications as well as in public statements." The most obvious Chinese statement in support of a deal with Nixon at the expense of the Indochinese revolution came in July, when Premier Chou En-lai praised the Korean armistice as a model of international relations.

Victor Louis, the Soviet "journalist" who is widely believed to be an agent of the Soviet Security Police, wrote last June 16 that the North Vietnamese had tried to "undermine" the Moscow-Washington summit with an offensive in South Vietnam.

The assessment that Moscow and Peking have pressured Hanoi into signing the present agreement was nearly universal in the U.S. press. Even normally anti-Soviet writers, such as the syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novack, had some kind words for the Kremlin on this score. In their Oct. 28 column Evans and Novack wrote: "Accordingly, Nixon's political judgment seems to be vindicated that Hanoi, under pressure from Peking, Moscow, and the brutally effective American bombing and blockade, would agree to a genuine (ceasefire -- peace").

One viewer of Nixon's television speech announcing the mining of North Vietnam's waters, Keatley wrote, was "the visiting Russian Trade Minister, dining that night at the home of Congress Secretary Peter Peterson. After hearing Mr. Nixon's words, he turned to his host and said: 'Let's get back to business.' "

Keatley also reports that during Nixon's Moscow trip, Russian propagandists traveling with U.S. reporters "privately berated Hanoi for trying to sabotage cooperation between the super powers. As intended, such talk got into print."

The Kremlin's treachery was even extended into the wrangling of the last week in October, when Hanoi was pressuring the United States to sign the proposed agreement immediately. Nixon was stalling, demanding more talks. On Oct. 27, Soviet Premier Kosygin declared that he

hoped there would soon be further Vietnam negotiations. The *New York Times* gave that story the following sub-headline: "Premier, in Effect, Backs U.S. View on Another Round in Peace Talks."

No peace

But despite the intentions of Moscow and Peking, it is apparent that the current agreement cannot produce peace in Vietnam. At most, it can result in a temporary lull in the fighting.

The accord recognizes two administrations, and more importantly, two armies, in South Vietnam: Thieu's puppet outfit and the North Vietnamese army, along with the guerrillas of the National Liberation Front.

The "neutralist, democratic" elements who are supposed to constitute the "third force" in the National Council of Reconciliation and Concord are mostly confined in Thieu's jails or, if they are not, they soon will be.

There is no doubt that Thieu, in an effort to consolidate his control, will systematically eliminate all opposition. The fact that the proposed accord does not dismantle his repressive apparatus and stipulates that it may continue to be supplied with U.S. weapons gives him a free rein to do so.

In fact, the bloody repression is already underway. "Saigon and most of the tropical countryside around it have suddenly broken out in the red and yellow of thousands of South Vietnamese flags the Government has ordered displayed under threat of arrest," Craig Whitney wrote in the Oct. 29 *New York Times. "*Each family, the Government says, must have two. It recently reminded the people that to display or even have a Vietcong flag was punishable by death."

Whitney reported that very shortly "each person will be required to produce a Government flag along with an identification card when asked by the police." Those who fail to display the national flag in front of their homes, the Government announced Oct. 29, "will be punished according to the laws in force."

Repression mounts

In her interview with Richard Barnet, foreign minister Binh charged that Thieu had unleashed an extermination campaign against South Vietnam's more than 200,000 political prisoners. "Women and children are being tortured and killed in the Saigon jails," she said. "The U.S. is equally responsible, for Thieu is not capable of carrying oiit such a policy alone."

The release of civilian political prisoners, according to the agreement, is a matter of negotiation between Thieu and the PRG.

As the Thieu-organized bloodbath began, the United States made clear its intention to rush all possible military aid to Saigon before any cease-fire goes into effect. The Oct. 27 *New York*

Times reported that the Defense Department is accelerating shipments of "jets, tanks, and artillery previously scheduled for delivery" to ensure that the equipment arrives "before any cease-fire closes off reinforcement."

Assured of massive U.S. support, the Thieu regime has given ample indication of how it expects to implement the "national reconciliation and concord" called for in the agreement. On Oct. 25 *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas Liptmann cabled from Saigon explaining the Saigon post-cease-fire program: " 'The Communists are going to be free to move around,' one official familiar with the cease-fire preparations said, 'but not free to act as Communists'."

"A few details of the government's instruction on preparations for the anticipated cease-fire, made available today, indicate that president Thieu's government would view any cease-fire as the occasion for new political restrictions designed to strengthen its own position.

"It would be up to Thieu's province chiefs, officers of the national police and provincial representatives to determine what constituted subversive activities. Almost any form of agitation or political opposition could be construed as Communist-inspired and subversive, and result in quick arrests."

The United States will doubtless support Thieu on this point, claiming that any activity by the liberation forces within Saigon-controlled territory constitutes a violation of the cease-fire. In turn, Thieu would regard any activity by the "neutralist" forces as NLF activity. "A television program directed at South Vietnamese soldiers," Liptmann wrote, "... warned that the Communists would incite workers to strike, demand release of political prisoners, and call for the abolition of emergency decree laws promulgated during this year's military crisis. The way things are done in South Vietnam, it is only a small step from there to concluding that anyone participating in such activities must be a Communist."

Bloodbath underway

The much-discussed postwar bloodbath is now underway. But it is Thieu and his U.S. mentors, not the Liberation forces, who are wielding the executioner's axe. The notion that the Saigon regime will allow itself to be ousted through a gradual process of peaceful politicking is preposterous. Full-scale resumption of the civil war is only a short step from the Saigon repression. Thieu can no more permit the indefinite posting of a hostile army in South Vietnam that he can a peaceful political process in Saigon itself. The Hanoi-Washington accord recognizes two governments and two armies and instructs them to settle their differences through an election. The lack of reality in such a plan in the long-term sense is obvious. But even in the immediate sense, the agreement is likely to be unworkable. Significant areas of South Vietnam are under Saigon's control during the day and the PRCs control at night. Even in the Mekong Delta, the country's most populous region, the regime's "pacification" program lies in ruin. In such situations, it is not simply a stretch of territory over which control is disputed, but a village-by-village struggle for power. There is little doubt that peaceful political processes would hand such areas over to the Liberation forces. Consequently, Thieu will not permit such

processes to unfold. The repression unleashed in the areas under Saigon's firm control would tend to spread geographically, first to contested areas, then to areas recognized in the agreement as North Vietnamese sanctuaries.

What would be Hanoi's response to this repression? Will the North Vietnamese army come to the aid of local NLF guerrillas when Thieu breaks the cease-fire? Will the North Vietnamese defend their own base areas or will they gradually withdraw? Will Hanoi put pressure on the NLF, comparable to the pressure Moscow and Peking put on Hanoi itself? Is the NLF infrastructure sufficiently intact to take on Thieu's army, the latter being deprived of the assistance of U.S. bombing? To what extent has the South Vietnamese population been demoralized, temporarily, by the U.S. bombing?

The answers to all these questions will be revealed in the course of the struggle itself.

Secret agreements

Also unclear, at present is the question of secret clauses. At a news conference held Oct. 27 in Paris, North Vietnamese spokesman Nguyen Thanh Le waved the mimeographed document and said, "You can judge for yourself. You can see how thick it is. This is the agreement to be signed." Le refused to divulge the number of pages, but reporters said it appeared to be "about half an inch thick."

There are thus three possible levels of agreement: the summary broadcast by Radio Hanoi, the full text of the public agreement (which Le said would be published when it was signed), and secret clauses.

One aspect of the agreement, however, is perfectly clear: the most massive destructive force ever assembled — the U.S. fleet and its air-force installations in Thailand — will remain posed for renewed aggression. Henry Kissinger told reporters gathered at his Oct. 27 news conference that "there are no limitations on American forces in Thailand or on the fleet."

The Pentagon admits there are 39,000 U.S. troops attached to the fleet and 45,000 positioned in Thailand. The four aircraft carriers in the fleet carry 240 fighter-bombers. The Thailand-based armada contains 500 combat planes, 50 B52s among them. Should Washington decide that the Vietnamese people have broken the cease-fire by resisting Thieu's bloodbath, the planes and troops are ready. The removal of troops from Indochina itself will in no way restrict the U.S. ability to resume bombing at a moment's notice.

The past history of the Indochina war leaves no doubt that, should the civil war break out again and should the U.S. puppet forces be getting the worst of it, U.S. imperialism will not hesitate to resume where it left off.

Since Moscow and Peking have demonstrated their unwillingness to act in face of such an eventuality, there is but one international force capable of staying the hand of the U.S. rulers — the international antiwar movement.

The North Vietnamese leaders themselves have recognized this. In the midst of the peace speculation of the last week in October, Nguyen Minh Vy sent a telegram to the offices of the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition, which has called for international mass demonstrations against the war on Nov. 18. "Firmly believe," Vy cabled, "your activities will contribute an important part to mobilization of American opinion demanding Nixon administration end immediately Vietnam war and support to Nguyen Van Thieu puppet regime. Withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam. Let South Vietnamese people settle own affairs without foreign interference. Wish you every success."

Maintain antiwar pressure

The terms of the proposed "peace" accord make it more crucial than ever to keep up the antiwar pressure. Should the international antiwar movement decide it has won, congratulate itself, and fold up, this would give renewed encouragement to the White House. Only the mobilization of solidarity on the international scale, combined with continued struggle of the Vietnamese people, can end for good the imperialist intervention in Indochina. The Vietnamese may be forced to make concessions, but the antiwar movement can declare in the most positive terms: **U.S. imperialism has no right to negotiate anything for the people of Indochina.**

No Canadian troops to Vietnam!

(The history of Canadian "peace-keeping" --ed.)

(*From Labor Challenge, November 1972)*

by GEORGE ADDISON

Oct. 28 — Hard on the heels of Henry Kissinger's announcement that "peace is at hand" in Vietnam, the U.S. State Department's favorite partner-in-crime, the Canadian government, made a predictable offer. External Affairs minister Mitchell Sharp told the press that Canada is likely to participate in an international "peacekeeping" force in Vietnam.

"Canada is the most experienced in peacekeeping," Sharp said in an interview with the *Toronto Star* Oct. 26, "and we have been making suggestions based on our experience."

What kind of a force does Sharp envisage? He told newsmen that it could well be a "semi-military force," including, presumably, troops from Canada and several other countries.

The Oct. 28 *Toronto Star* quotes Prime Minister Trudeau as announcing "with relief and thankfulness" that Canada is ready to send peacekeeping troops to Vietnam, providing both sides agree on Canada's role.

A Canadian press article datelined Washington, Oct. 28, reports that U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers has consulted Canada and a number of other countries "which might play a useful role in the enforcement of an eventual Vietnam war settlement." Rogers was quoted as saying it was "quite possible that Canada will be one of the nations asked to help supervise the peace."

And the Canadian armed forces are dutifully moving to prepare plans to send Canadian troops to Vietnam. In Ottawa, a Defense Department spokesman said that longstanding contingency plans to move a Canadian peacekeeping force of up to 5,000 men to Vietnam are being dusted off. Particular attention is being given to getting the Canadian Airborne Regiment, on standby at Edmonton, to Vietnam.

The scene is being set for another chapter in the 18-year history of Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war. What was previously diplomatic support and cover through Canada's membership on the International Control Commission and exporter of arms to aid the U.S. war machine now appears to be entering a new stage — sending Canadian troops. They may be called "peacekeepers," but they will in reality be a new occupying army, a new foreign intervention to block the struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination.

While the ceasefire agreement announced by both Hanoi and the U.S. has not been signed, and may be stalled by Nixon for some time to wring more concessions from the Vietnamese, or indeed may never come into effect, the provisions of the agreement clearly call for international "supervision and control." Neither side has publicly revealed the scope and nature of this international force, but the Washington view, as quoted in an article by William Beecher in the Oct. 29 *New York Times* assumes that it will be a significant military force:

"American intelligence reports are filled with intercepted messages indicating an intention on the part of the Vietcong to delay compliance with the ceasefire . . . Saigon's forces apparently intend to play a similar game . . . The only way to counteract this trend, as Mr. Kissinger made clear, is by having the projected international supervisory force in place at the start of the truce.

"Military planners here (in Washington) say there must be several thousand members of a peacekeeping force, equipped with helicopters and good communications and free to move everywhere in South Vietnam ..."

Can Canada be a "peacemaker" in Vietnam? A look at Canada's record both in Vietnam and in other world "trouble-spots" shows that Canadian intervention could only be of a counter-revolutionary nature.

Since World War II, Canada has participated in every single United Nations "peacekeeping" operation. Its participation, however, was not that of an impartial, and neutral intermediary in conflicts, but that of a conscious agent of imperialism. Canada acted when bigger imperialist powers — the U.S., Britain, France, etc. — could not. Canada's aim was to crush revolutionary developments and stabilize the status quo.

A quotation from the Canadian government's 1964 White Paper on Defense shows how peacekeeping is seen as part of a general pro-imperialist strategy:

"... Communist pressure, including the active fomenting and support of so-called 'wars of liberation' in less-developed areas, may well continue and intensify. In such areas, instability will probably continue in the decade ahead and call for containment measures which do not lend themselves to Great Power or Alliance action. The peacekeeping responsibilities devolving upon the United Nations can be expected to grow correspondingly."

Thus, in the view of the Liberal government, participation in U.S.-dominated nuclear alliances like NATO and NORAD is in no way contradictory to "peacekeeping" operations. They both serve the same general end.

Canadian military personnel have joined "peacekeeping" operations, in Kashmir (1949 to the present), Korea (1940-54), Palestine (1954 to date), Indochina (1954 to date), Egypt (1956-67), Lebanon (1958-59), Congo (1960-64), West New Guinea (1962-63), Yemen (1963-64), Cyprus (1964 to date) and India-Pakistan (1965-66).

The most blatantly pro-imperialist action was Canadian participation in the phony United Nations force in Korea. The force included 8,000 Canadians, but was commanded and financed by the U.S. The United States provided 50 percent of the troops (South Korea provided an additional 40 percent), 85 percent of the naval forces, 93 percent of the air forces, and paid for the entire operation. The U.N. authorization for the force was simply a formality. Like Vietnam, it was a brutal assault on the right of the Koreans to determine their own future, to provide a base for imperialist encirclement of the People's Republic of China.

Canadian participation in the Korean force helped give the appearance of legitimacy to U.S. aggression, as well as the obvious aid in terms of trained soldiers.

In the Congo, a United Nations force was created in 1960 on the request of its president Patrice Lumumba, supposedly to put down an imperialist-inspired secession of Katanga province under the Belgian puppet Moise Tshombe. The activity of the U.N. force was mainly aimed, however, at Lumumba's government. Canadian forces in particular, who were in charge of transport and communication, effectively cut Lumumba off from his supporters. Through a series of maneuvers, Lumumba was seized by his opponents and murdered, and by the time the U.N. was ready to withdraw, none other than Tshombe took power as the "saviour" of Congolese independence. The U.N. force had effectively turned the tables on the Congolese revolution.

Canadian troops have been ready for a "peacekeeping" role in Vietnam for some years now. Liberal cabinet ministers have hinted at such a force since 1968. Canadian forces have been training in "counter-insurgency" warfare for at least that long. CBC TV reported in July 1968, an exercise at Camp Petawawa, Ont. where Canadian soldiers were practising maneuvers in a mock Southeast Asian village. Troops have been sent to several tropical countries for similar "counter-insurgency" training.

The Canadian government has been the most consistent supporter of U.S. aggression in Vietnam throughout the history of the war. As a member of the International Control Commission, Canada provided a rationale for the puppet regime in Saigon, justified the buildup of U.S. forces, carried threats to Hanoi for the U.S., and even spied for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). These assertions have all been documented by the Canadian antiwar movement and the socialist press (see in particular the Sept. 11, 1972 issue of *Labor Challenge*).

Canada has no more right to be in Vietnam or Indo-China than the United States does. Canadian intervention could be nothing other than another denial of the right of the Indochinese to their self-determination.

Recognizing the pressing need to awaken Canadians to the designs of the Trudeau government, the antiwar movement has already moved into action. On Oct. 28, 50 activists picketed the Canadian Airborne Regiment's barracks in Edmonton. Seventy protesters picketed the Liberal party headquarters in Toronto.

In Ottawa, the Vietnam Mobilization Committee picketed the National Defense Headquarters. Activity is being stepped up across the country, stressing emergency speakouts on university campuses.

Canadians must move to block any and all Canadian intervention into the affairs of the Indo-Chinese people.

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machine, the NDP is well situated to use parliament as a tribune, to speak out on all the key issues, to pose a clear alternative to the policies of the big business parties. It can carry forward its opposition to the "corporate ripoff" that gave the party's election campaign such initiative and momentum.

This is the big challenge before the NDP. The election results constitute a crushing rejection of the Trudeau government — its arrogant, cynical anti-working class policies. The popular disillusionment with Trudeau's promised "Just Society" of the 1968 federal election is registered in Liberal losses across the country.

Liberal ministers, defeated and re-elected alike, are offering up see page 2

Editorial

Election reveals disillusionment

continued from page 1

self-justifying excuses that the government was brought down by a right-wing backlash. They point to Tory candidates' appeals for "law and order," wage controls and denuciations of "welfare cheaters" and alleged Quebec influence in the inner circles of government.

It's a little late in the day for the Liberals to claim the progressive label. It was the Trudeau government which carried out the War Measures occupation of Quebec, deliberately created mass unemployment to hold down wages, and dished out millions of dollars from the public treasury to the hard-pressed "corporate welfare bums."

Since there is no substantial difference between the two parties, the shift by some 10 percent of the electorate from Liberals to the Tories can hardly be said to indicate a turn to the right. At most the Tories only offered to "do better."

Far from indicating confidence in either of the big business parties, the Oct. 30 federal vote carries forward the antigovernment feeling that has toppled a majority of provincial regimes during the last three years.

Underlying the parliamentary stalemate is a profound political instability, characterized by fluctuating allegiances, regroupments and — most significantly — the steady emergence of the NDP as a labor-based political alternative to the traditional capitalist parties.

Of the eight minority federal governments since Confederation, this is the fifth since 1957, in seven general elections.

But the election results nonetheless pose some important questions for the NDP. The party made some modest gains in B.C., Toronto and Northern Ontario, strengthening somewhat its urban working class base in those areas. It scored a small but significant breakthrough in the Northwest Territories, where the Native majority elected an Indian NDP member — no doubt on the strength of the NDP's opposition to Trudeau's plans to bulldoze through with Northern resources exploitation, ignoring Native aboriginal rights and treaty claims.

But the party failed to advance much in popular support from the 1968 election; its 17.5 percent share of the total vote fell short of its high-water 18 percent achieved in 1965. It lost three of its six seats in Saskatchewan, and suffered small declines in an already-weak electoral base in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces, where it was outdistanced for the first time by Social Credit candidates in Acadian areas. In Montreal, the Socreds overcame the NDP in many ridings where the NDP had previously come second.

While the NDP did not get squeezed out in the major shift of votes between the two main capitalist parties, it can't claim to have made much advance, either. This election saw the party move out more aggressively, pose a clearer more distinct class identity than ever before. Yet in the end, the majority of voters who abandoned previous allegiances to the Liberals, chose to throw their support to the Tories of Robert Stanfield. While not a turn to the right, the vote does not indicate any sharp turn to the left. The most ominous aspect is that the Tories have succeeded in re-establishing the urban base that Trudeaumania and the NDP shattered for them in the 1960s. Today they are the only party with parliamentary representation from every province and region of the country.

Everything in the parliamentary electoral system, of course, is designed to demobilize the electorate, to bring out its conservative side — from the gerrymandered riding boundaries to the compulsory two-day suspension of campaigning before the polling day. The election results reveal only very partially and inadequately the impact of the powerful and growing sectors of the population that are in motion against their oppression and exploitation. Insofar as those elements were given expression in the campaign, it was almost entirely through the NDP campaign.

Perhaps the best thing about the indecisive election result is that there will almost certainly be another federal general election within a matter of months — that is, another opportunity for NDP supporters to mobilize and popularize class struggle politics in the labor movement. The challenge to the NDP is to use every opportunity in the next period, both in and out of parliament, to project a clear anticapitalist alternative to the capitalist parties. As the vote shows, the party still has a long way to go before the masses of working people in this country understand the necessity of independent labor political action — the need for a workers government, which the NDP projects in this period.

labor **Challenge**

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#67 Nov 1972

What Lewis campaign achieved

VICTORIOUS VANCOUVER NDP CANDIDATES. Grace MacInnis, only woman NDP in last Parliament joins Paddy Neale, former secretary of Vancouver Labor Council elected in Vancouver-East.

by PHIL COURNEYEUR

"We have been able to solidify and strengthen a thrust that has been in the party all the time." That's how NDP leader David Lewis described his sustained election attack on the corporate welfare bums.

Now that the NDP holds the balance of parliamentary power and Lewis has stipulated that he will give support to a minority government only if it does something "drastic" about unemployment, rising inflation, and the corporate ripoff, there is bound to be a continuing interest in just what the basic "thrust" of Lewis' campaign has been.

There is no doubt that Lewis' incessant expose of huge corporate ripoffs touched raw nerves across the country and tapped deep resentments of the many who have to struggle just to get by, especially with the September statistics showing unemployment rising hand in hand with inflation.

During the campaign Lewis maintained the momentum behind his attacks on the corporate system. Both Trudeau and Stanfield found themselves at a loss to get hold of this issue. They were unable to keep the NDP on the sidelines.

Lewis focused the NDP campaign almost entirely on the corporate bums issue. Focusing especially on the food and drug profiteers, he was able to draw a class line between the NDP and the boss parties. This issue, more than any other, helped to reveal the fundamental class antagonism between the NDP and its rivals.

On Oct. 28, in a speech before 1,500 people in Regina and carried province-wide by radio, Lewis capped his attacks on the corporations: "All of the people of this country, wherever they live, are victims of a society controlled by the corporations, for the corporations."

Early in the campaign we saw evidence that the ruling class parties would try to use the election to reinforce their claims that the victims of the economic ills of capitalism — workers, the unemployed and those on welfare — were to blame for the accumulating problems. Both Trudeau and Stanfield tried to play on this theme, attempting to deflect Lewis' blows with the myth that wage increases cause inflation and that "freeloaders" on unemployment insurance and welfare are the big drain on public tax funds.

NATIVE NDP CANDIDATE WINS NORTH WEST TERRITORIES. Campaigning on a strong platform of native rights, Wally Firth delivers blow to Trudeau's ripoff schemes for northern 'development.'

The Lewis campaign effectively cut across the boss propaganda and placed the corporations on the defensive. The real, free-loading parasites in this country, Lewis demonstrated, are the corporations, not the army of jobless and impoverished welfare recipients. This theme outlasts the election campaign.

The NDP campaign strategy flowed out of that overall class struggle reality and served as a broad defense of the trade union movement and working people. Far from a generalized attack on the capitalist system, it was a counter-thrust to the actual and threatened attacks on the living standards of working people by the capitalist class.

Lewis' almost exclusive focus on the corporate ripoff issue left untouched many other important issues in the campaign, however.

While the NDP campaign did respond in a limited way to such questions as women's rights and Native rights the campaign was in no way geared to speak to and on behalf of the sectors of the oppressed in Canada which are struggling against their conditions. The party only responded to the abortion question when challenged by women across the country, but its response was clear, especially on the October 21 actions for a woman's right to choose called across Canada by the Women's Coalition for the Repeal of the Abortion Laws.

The most wretched side of the NDP campaign, inexcusable in terms both of the party's clear program and the gravity of the question, was its nearly total silence on the Vietnam war. Lewis failed to challenge Trudeau on the criminal record of Canadian complicity in U.S. genocide in Vietnam. Even in the last days of the campaign, when talk of Canadian troop involvement in Vietnam police actions escalated, Lewis remained silent.

The leadership of the NDP, rooted as it is, not in the ranks of the most oppressed, but in the relatively privileged trade union bureaucracy and among professional layers, is limited in its outlook, in the answers it offers to the problems, and in how far it is prepared to go in its critique of the system. It is essentially liberal-reformist in outlook.

If the Lewis campaign drew a clear class line between the NDP and the old line parties, did it succeed in outlining a real alternative to the government and its policies? The NDP effectively exposed the tax ripoff, but what concretely did it

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have to say about unemployment; about poverty; about educational cutbacks; about inflation?

The leadership was able to forecefully raise many of the most important issues; to point accusing fingers in the right direction; but when it came to answers, the campaign lost some of its punch.

This became very evident as the corporate ripoff attacks failed to go beyond the range of telling exposures to concrete alternative proposals for the economy.

Lewis called for "increasing the effective tax rate on corporate profits, taxing capital gains fully, plugging the tax loopholes for both corporations and individuals, and wiping out wasteful giveaways to corporations." Such a policy, Lewis calculated, could easily enable at least an 8 percent cut in individual income taxes and generate tax income sufficient to let the government float some $2 billion into the economy for job-generating public works and other investments.

But Lewis did not challenge the concept of using public capital to aid the expansion of private capital investment in Canada. Public monies advanced, Lewis says, should be exchanged for equity shares in corporations and companies.

Such a policy only tinkers with and in no way alters the basic thrust of corporation investments in the capitalist market. Corporations (actually all capitalists) invest not in accordance with how best to meet human needs and social planning, but in those areas and regions of the country (and the world) where the highest profit can be found. It is this drive that leads to the cruel distortions in the economy — regional underdevelopment; waves of unemployment; unplanned urban growth; pollution, etc.

In order to begin to solve the most pressing problems of the Canadian economy, social planning of the economy is necessary. Investment wealth, at least from the most important sectors of the economy, must be brought under public ownership and control — so that through social planning, resources from the most productive and efficient sectors of the economy can be used to assure the growth of underdeveloped areas, the provision of adequate social services to the population, and to guarantee the protection of the environment.

DAVID LEWIS. NDP leader

But Lewis denied the need for even a nationalized sector of the economy.

The Lewis campaign, even after the election, then, will continue to pose within the labor movement and the party ranks very important questions. What is the alternative to the capitalist pattern of economic growth — that is, growth based on huge state giveaways common to all advanced capitalist countries?

The socialist left in the NDP can only greet the challenge of the economic questions raised by the Lewis campaign. They lead directly to a root and branch questioning of capitalism as a system and call for socialist answers — the development of a socialist program for Canadian economic growth based on nationalization and the planned economy.

labor Challenge #67 Nov 1972

Program of Quebec socialist campaign

The following is the full text of the main election leaflet of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere-League for Socialist Action in its campaign in the federal riding of Montreal-Lafontaine. The translation is by Penny Simpson.

The main slogans of the campaign are "For an independent and French Quebec!" and "For independent labor political action!"

Pierre Elliott Trudeau has stated unequivocally that the 10 provinces of Canada will decide the future of Quebec, not the Quebecois. "The use of force cannot be ruled out . . ." should independence come about, Trudeau states with scorn.

If Canada is as marvelous as he claims, why is he afraid to let the Quebecois decide if they want to stay in it? Our right to self-determination is inalienable.

Trudeau is afraid of "separatism" because he is well aware that Quebec suffers from "its special status" — that of a nation oppressed by Canada. The federal government is controlled by the English Canadian capitalists who profit directly from our national oppression, raking in superprofits on the backs of Quebecois "cheap labor."

Neither the federal government nor its agents in Quebec City can permit Quebec to be free. This has posed for a growing number of Quebecois the necessity of political independence. It has also led more and more Quebecois, as the recent position papers adopted by the Quebec trade union movement show, to see that the heart of the matter is the rottenness of the capitalist system today that denies us the right to self-determination, that deforms the Quebec economy in the grip of foreign monopolies (plant closures, low wages), that continues to destroy the French language through accelerated anglicization (Bill 63, French school closures), and the high rate of unemployment.

Without maintaining the oppression and colonization of the majority of nations on this earth, capitalism, a system based on the profit of a tiny minority at the expense of the vast majority, could no longer survive.

The increased exploitation of workers reflects the increasingly generalized crisis of world capitalism. The workers find their union freedom attacked (for example, Bill 19) each time they refuse to pay the bill for these contradictions in the capitalist system.

Quebecois women are victims of an oppression that is deeply rooted in this system motivated by profit and not by the needs of human beings. Women are not allowed to control their bodies or their lives. The federal abortion laws take that decision away from women and give it to doctors, hospitals, government officials, thereby creating the great number of illegal abortions. These laws are responsible for hundreds of deaths which result from butcher-abortions. Women are often faced with the necessity of staying home because this society refuses to make childcare available. At work, women have the worst jobs and the lowest wages. At school, women are channelled into domestic secretarial courses while at home, they are household slaves.

Capitalism imposes on youth a particular oppression and alienation: the lack of democratic rights at school and police repression. The highest rate of unemployment (almost 25 percent) is found among youth. They are

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QUEBEC YOUNG SOCIALISTS CONFRONT TRUDEAU. "Trudeau: We want no more of federalism" reads sign held by Paul Kouri, a member of the Quebec Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. At his side, the Manpower and Immigration Minister Bryce Mackasey, waiting for Trudeau in St. Henri.

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Libération!

Trudeau says that if Quebec votes for independence, he won't recognize the decision. He says that if Quebec secedes in spite of him, he will build a pro-federalist movement in Quebec. Why is Trudeau, chief spokesman for Canada's rulers, so worried about the independentist movement? What is happening in Quebec?

LIBERATION is a monthly paper that campaigns for an independent, French, socialist Quebec. It brings you full coverage of the key movements, debates and issues in the Quebec labor, student and women's movements. To find out what is frightening Trudeau — read **Liberation.**

$1.00 for 8 issues

LIBERATION, Boite 641, Succ. N, Montreal

Program of Quebec socialist campaign

(Labor Challenge, March 19, 1972)

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Capitalism imposes on youth a particular oppression and alienation: the lack of democraticrights at school and police repression. The highest rate of unemployment (almost 25 percent) is found among youth. They are denied an adequate sex education and free access to birth control.

=====start BOX for CAPTION=========

QUEBEC YOUNG SOCIALISTS CONFRONT TRUDEAU
"Trudeau: We want no more of federalism" reads sign held by Paul Kouri, a member of the Quebec Ligue des Jeunes Socalistes. At his side, the Manpower and Immigration Minister Bryce Mackasey, waiting for Trudeau in (the Montreal suburb) St. Henri.

=====end BOX for CAPTION==========

Capitalism in its decadence is not content just to exploit and oppress people as individuals, but, on top of polluting the air, the lakes and rivers, it is obliged to maintain perpetual wars, preventing through imperialist military intervention the rights of the Vietnamese, the Irish, the Palestinians and of others, to national self-determination.

Such military aggression is not reserved for "other people," as the Québécois learned in 1970 with the invasion by the Canadian army during the War Measures (Act), and the illegal imprisonment of hundreds of Québécois citizens for political reasons.

How to put an end to this oppression? We must break completely with those who exploit us, the foreign capitalists and their regimes in Ottawa and Quebec. Who can carry out such a task? It will never be the Trudeaus or Desmarais of the Quebec bourgeoisie because they are tied by a thousand threads to foreign imperialism. Only the struggle of the Quebec masses can liberate Quebec. It is only through mass actions that we can win our democratic rights.

The May civil service strike confirmed that the working class is the only social force in the nation that is powerful and coherent enough to hold its own against exploitation and oppression. A massive struggle led by the workers and their allies will be necessary to tear power from the hands of the foreign capitalists. But the May strike also showed the weakness of the labor movement in the political arena. At that time we saw all the political parties in the National Assembly oppose the workers' struggle. This shows the necessity of the working class itself organizing politically in its own party to defend itself in all areas. The Parti Québécois has also shown its refusal to support the demands and struggles of the masses for workers' rights and national rights.

The program of the LSO candidate, Alain Beiner, puts forward the demands and the means of struggle to win an independent and French Quebec — it also poses the necessity of independent political action by the workers, that is, the establishment of a labor party based on the unions, as an essential tool to advance the national struggle and the struggles of the workers. It is in this spirit that we ask voters outside of Montreal-Lafontaine to support the New Democratic Party, which puts forward the indispensable concept of workers political action. The NDP. which has the support of the Quebec Federation of Labor, is a tendency in the Quebec labor movement. In English Canada, the NDP is a mass movement of English Canadian workers, financed and led by the unions.

Abstention in the election does nothing to advance the struggle. Instead it testifies to an inability to see the class difference between the capitalist and labor candidates, and flows from a false idea that the liberation of Quebec could be accomplished by means other than by the political struggle of the masses led by the workers and their party. This labor party will be a key tool for the Quebecois working class in the struggle for the liberation of the Quebec nation.

To struggle against the oppression and injustice of this system, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière proposes the following program:

FOR AN INDEPENDENT AND FRENCH QUEBEC

For the full control by the Québécois of all areas now under federal jurisdiction. For the expulsion of the Canadian army from Quebec territory. For the immediate repeal of Bill 63. French as the only language of work and instruction.

TO ADVANCE THE NEEDS OF WORKERS

To create jobs for all, cut the work week to 30 hours with no reduction in pay. Nationalize the foreign-owned firms that close their doors. Abolish all laws preventing or limiting the right to strike. No wage freezes! For a minimum wage of $100 per week.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE OPPRESSED AROUND THE WORLD

End the complicity of the Ottawa and Quebec governments in the Vietnam war. Immediate withdrawal of troops and war material and a complete stop to the bombings to allow the Vietnamese their self-determination.

FOR THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN

Repeal the federal abortion laws to leave the decision to each woman. For free 24-hour child care, financed by the state and controlled by those who use it. End all discriminatory laws against women. Equal pay for equal work.

FOR THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF STUDENTS

For freedom of expression and the press in the schools. An end to the repression and police intervention in the schools. Free access to education for all. For control of the schools by the students, teachers and staff.

FOR AN INDEPENDENT AND SOCIALIST QUEBEC

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (active in the student milieu) are struggling to bring about this program, and to build a Quebec that is really ours. We aim for a Quebec democratically controlled by the majority and not by a tiny handful of rich people. We are fighting for a Quebec without pollution, without race or sex discrimination, where the culture and the language of the majority will not be undermined by a privileged minority.

A workers and farmers government, which will break all ties with Ottawa and with imperialism, which will nationalize foreign enterprises, putting them under workers' control and which will establish social planning based on human needs and not on profit. This workers' government would thus establish the foundations of a socialist society, freed of all forms of exploitation. An independent and socialist Quebec would not permit the struggles of the other oppressed around the. world to be crushed. On the contrary, it would be an example and an aid to the establishment of a socialist world.

JOIN THE LSO CAMPAIGN TO BUILD THIS INDEPENDENT AND SOCIALIST QUEBEC!

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Socialist campaign confronted Trudeau

by MARYLENE RENAUD

MONTREAL — Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere campaign supporters picketed and passed out leaflets at a Trudeau election rally in the riding of Montreal-St. Henri, Oct. 21, calling for an end to federalist oppression and domination of Quebec, and for an independent and French Quebec. Even Trudeau took a copy of the LSO election leaflet. Alain Beiner, the LSO candidate in Lafontaine was physically expelled by Liberal bouncers when he and his supporters attempted to attend the "public" rally. They continued to chant slogans outside, and Trudeau was forced to take time in his speech to "answer" the "separatists and socialists". The action was reported on radio and in the newspapers in Montreal.

Beiner also spoke at the Montreal Women's coalition for Abortion Law Repeal all-party meeting, Oct. 22. The LSO candidate received enthusiastic applause several times during his presentation when he spoke about the lessons that women can learn from the early woman's suffrage movement. Women weren't handed the right to vote by a grateful or appreciative government, he said, but won the right to vote through struggle and mass protest marches and through independent actions on the part of the women themselves.

In a question put to Beiner on what was the objective of socialists in a federal election campaign such as this one, he responded: "As long as the Quebecois working class have faith in the electoral process, the participation of revolutionary socialists in this process is essential is order to gain a hearing to popularize socialist ideas and programs, especially on the crucial struggle for national rights."

ALAIN BEINER. Candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere in Montreal-Lafontaine.

During the campaign, Beiner spoke on two CEGEP and two university campuses. He had a 15-minute cable TV interview which an estimated 100,000 families watched, and spoke to a conference of the FCDLF (Common Front for the Defense of the French Language).

The Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere published almost 5,000 leaflets, which were distributed both in the riding of Lafontaine and throughout Montreal.

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Protests demand right to abortion

by PENNY SIMPSON

"Abortion — a woman's right to choose!" rang out loud and clear in spirited actions for repeal of the anti-abortion laws, from Vancouver to Montreal, Oct. 21-22.

In Edmonton, Joan Cameron, chairwoman of the Edmonton chapter of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, summed up the militancy of the cross-country demonstrations. "The protest cannot stop with the day's demonstration," she said. "We have to build a strong movement that will force Parliament to grant our demands. We can't set down our picket signs and just wait for Parliament to give them to us benevolently."

The Oct. 21 actions were a significant success for the coalition.

photo by Jeff White

Lorna Grant

Its call to "make women's voices heard to repeal the abortion laws" broke through the deliberate suppression of abortion as an election issue,. and received considerable news coverage on the local level.

Its many imaginative actions, from a tag-day in Peterborough, to all-candidate meetings, to the personal testimony of women in Vancouver who had had abortions, involved new groups and numbers of new women in the campaign.

The actions in Hamilton and Peterborough were the first ever in those cities, while the Ottawa group held its first purely local demonstration (and only its second action) on Parliament Hill. In Winnipeg, the coalition held its largest action to date, in a march on the legislature.

The chants and slogans of the demonstrations indicated the clear feminist direction of the campaign: "A woman's right to choose", "Women must control their fate; not the Church and not the state", "Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide!" as well as "Repeal the abortion laws."

Most important of all in the election period, the actions brought out the NDP consistently throughout the country to identify with the abortion campaign.

Several candidates participated in both the rallies and the demonstrations. Bob Beardsley, one of the NDPers who came to the Toronto meeting, explained how he had disagreed with repeal but that the women working in his campaign had convinced him.

Beardsley was challenged by the "Students for Life", who demanded to know if all the social problems that now exist in the rearing of children were solved, would those who advocate abortion stop fighting for repeal of the abortion laws. Beardsley won the enthusiastic applause of the 150 participants with his categorical, "No. Our position is that it's a basic right of women."

The so-called "right-to-life" forces picketed and leafleted the Toronto meeting and stayed to heckle. Their attempt to disrupt the meeting failed due to the well-organized marshalling, while their questions were sensibly handled by both the speakers and the gathering as a whole. Several young women who had come with the male-led "Students for Life" were won over and participated in the coalition demonstration instead of the counter-march.

Lorna Grant, executive secretary of the Canadian Women's Coalition explained the purpose of the rally: "We are here today to convince all of you to become involved in the campaign to repeal all abortion laws. The lives and dreams of thousands of women depend on the outcome of this campaign and we intend to win.

"We challenge all Canadians who support our goal to join the campaign. We don't have the resources of the Catholic Church, or the power of the Prime Minister, nor have we the courts or the laws on our side. We have only ourselves and the power we can bring together in our

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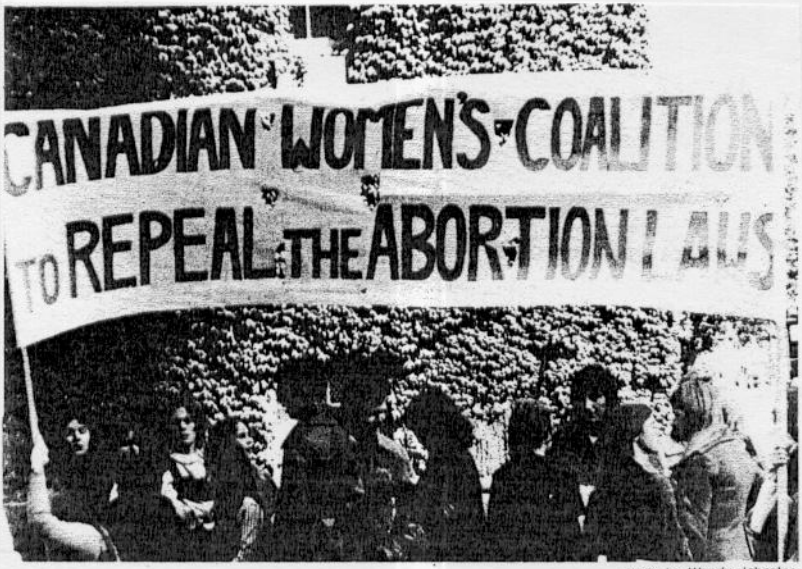

photo by Wendy Johnston

TORONTO, OCT. 21. Demonstrators march for repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

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numbers. We intend to make this campaign so big that no government can ignore us any longer."

Only the NDP among the political parties picked up this challenge in a serious way. Their candidates came out to declare their support for repeal in Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Montreal, and Vancouver. The Conservative and Communist Parties sent candidates in only two cities, while the Liberals turned up in only one. In Toronto, all 71 candidates were invited. Only seven showed up — from the NDP, Women for Political Action, and the Communist Party. The contemptuous boycott on the part of the big business parties could not have been clearer.

Like the abortion tribunals throughout the United States the same weekend, the Vancouver rally featured the poignant accounts of women who had fought for and suffered through legal abortions in this country with its so-called reformed laws.

Esther Greenglass, a professor of Sociology at York University, explained in Toronto the common thread of experience that women seeking abortions face: "The law denies that women have the intelligence or the capability to make a decision about abortion." Instead, the decision is given to three doctors, "probably male, who neither know the woman nor can understand her very personal reasons for wanting an abortion."

Greenglass concluded with the sentiments of most of the women present: "The struggle to repeal the abortion laws is part of the general struggle by women to live our lives with dignity, self-respect, and most important, the ability to determine our own destiny . . . "

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Native people fight back

'Developers' raping north

by HOWARD BROWN

According to its federal government organizers, the impact of northern development on Native people was to be "top priority" of a seminar Oct. 16-19 in Mont Gabriel, Quebec. Yet native people were notably absent from the assembly of some 100 natural and social scientists, presumed experts on Canada's north.

W. J. Mussell, executive director of the Union of B.C. Chiefs, a guest speaker at the conference, brought this scandalous "oversight" to the attention of the delegates. "Natives peoples," he said, "are sick and tired of being the subject. What's desirable is that we become patrons, that we become beneficiaries of scientific findings."

But in fact, the effective exclusion of Native representation to the Mont Gabriel seminar is no exception to general government policy. Last January, after studying the impact of oil exploration on an Eskimo trapping community Dr. Peter Usher, a geographer with Jean Chretien's Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development concluded: "The government has decided that the welfare of Native northerners and the northern environment are to be sacrificed in favor of large scale economic development."

For Native people, northern development by big capital means ecological destruction, and thereby the destruction of a native economy based on hunting, fishing and trapping. Moreover, such developments occur in complete violation of Native aboriginal rights to the lands they have always occupied.

What has been the record of the Canadian government in giving Native people "top priority" in its northern development policy?

The Federation of Natives North of 60, a broad, umbrella organization, has demanded that there be no work on the proposed MacKenzie Valley pipeline until their aboriginal land rights have been recognized by the federal government. The Trudeau government has consistently refused to recognize the legitimacy of aboriginal rights.

Harold Cardinal

The federal government has announced the building of a Mackenzie River highway, from Fort Simpson to Tuktoyaktuk without consultation with the Native movement. The Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood responded by demanding that the highway not be built and that an immediate land freeze be enacted pending government recognition of aboriginal land rights.

The Old Crow, Yukon, band of Loucheaux Indians have attempted, but without success, to prevent oil exploration and drilling in the Old Crow area. They have threatened court action.

The overwhelming majority of the adult population of the Northwest Territories hamlet of Tuktoyaktuk have signed a petition to Prime Minister Trudeau, demanding that he ban petroleum exploration activity in traditional hunting and trapping land on the Cape Bathurst Peninsula:

"Long ago," the petition reads, "50 or 75 years ago, Cape Bathurst was a rich country for us. Then the whalers came and killed off the caribou and trapped out all the foxes . . . Now the game is coming back to our country . . . we are happy to see the country rich again.

"But now oil exploration threatens our traditional lands. Your government has been unable to prove beyond doubt that seismic work will not harm the caribou, the foxes and the bears.

"We do not oppose all development. We have approved many applications. But with this ancestral land, we cannot take a chance.

"Your minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean Chretien, has said publicly that the needs and aspirations of Native people are top priority.

"Yet this one time, we say definitely no, and still, you say we cannot veto it.

"What is the use of consultation if you say that we have no power? What else can we do? Your government must listen to us this time or we can no longer trust your words."

Harold Cardinal, president of the Indian Association of Alberta, speaking to the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, outlined the potential of the Native struggle in the north:

"In the north you have a chance that we don't have anymore . . . You have the only chance in North America to form your own provincial government because you have the numbers to do it . . . Indians, Eskimos and Metis people form roughly 65 percent of the population in the Northwest Territories."

Certainly no Native people were consulted when the Mont Gabriel seminar approved the construction of the Mackenzie River Pipeline. But the conference in the end did make one concession to Native people. Paul Robinson offered the services of his Northwest Territories Education Department in making a summary of the conference conclusions available in Native languages: "We owe the people of the North that much," he said, "to tell them what southern Canada has in mind for their land and future, so they can be aware of the good things people here are offering them."

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For a labor City Hall

Toronto socialists launch civic slate

by JOAN CAMPANA
Campaign manager

"Unlike the other mayoralty candidates in this election, I don't promise to listen to the whole of the city of Toronto. I only intend to act on behalf of part of this city. My part happens to be 98 percent. But the other 2 percent are those who now control City Hall.

"To wrest City Hall from their grip, to make a fighting City Hall for

photo by MacInnis

Jacquie Henderson

women, the tenants, for the working people of this city — that is our intention in this campaign."

Jacquie Henderson, 25-year old socialist feminist and mayoralty candidate of the League for Socialist Action, finished her keynote address at the nomination rally Oct. 28, to a standing ovation. Henderson heads the socialist slate of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists to contest the Dec. 4 Toronto civic elections.

More than 80 people attended the rally, at which Henderson and the other LSA-YS candidates spoke. It was an enthusiastic kickoff to the socialist campaign. Campaign supporters pledged both time and money to take the labor alternative into the municipal arena, to provide a real alternative to the big business and real estate developers who presently control Toronto politics.

Ross Dowson, chairman of the League for Socialist Action — Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and nine times a mayoralty candidate for the LSA in Toronto opened the rally by giving a sketch of city administrations, past and present.

"They could give considerable leadership to the entire country. They could turn Toronto into a labor stronghold. They could introduce a shorter work week on the municipal level. They could put pressure on all areas to make it possible for people to realize potentials that are within them.

"But they have done none of these things. They are responsible for the housing crisis, for they have the means to resolve it. They are responsible for pollution. They fight the unions. They continually attack citizens' groups. They consider them a trouble instead of opening City Hall for the citizens to make their views known."

Ellie Kirzner, LSA candidate for alderwoman in Ward 8, continued: "They are the same people who help to ensure that city council remains what it is — a patriarchy. They're not called 'City Fathers' for nothing. They are committed to denying women the right to make choices about how they live in this city."

Kirzner outlined the total deficiency of child-care facilities in the city and the redtape surrounding abortions. "It is only through a labor government with a socialist program," she said, "and with women marching through city streets that we will win what we need."

Darrel Furlotte, aldermanic candidate in Ward 4, picked up the theme of the protest movements that have come into existence, challenging the status quo not only in Toronto but across the country. He spoke on the need for the municipal government to take a stand on such issues as the war in Indochina. "An antiwar administration," he said, "could

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Ottawa Oct. 30 — The Ottawa branch of the League for Socialist Action today announced its intention to run in the Dec. 4 civic election. They have challenged the NDP to provide a labor alternative but it appears the NDP will not do so. At a rally slated for Nov. 10 they will announce their candidate for mayor.

Socialist candidates

SOCIALIST SLATE IN TORONTO. Top, League for Social Action candidates Ellie Kirzner for Ward 8 alderwoman and Darrel Furlotte for alderman in Ward 4. Below, Young Socialist candidates for Board of Education — Cliff Mack for Ward 4, Heather Thompson for Ward 8. Abie Weisfeld, Young Socialist Board of Education candidate in Ward 4 is not shown.

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mobilize the people of this city — a tremendous force, almost 10 percent of the population of Canada. It could mount a pressure the federal government could not ignore — particularly to keep Canadian troops out of Vietnam."

Later in the rally Henderson defended these protest movements against the attack of Toronto's present mayor, William Dennison. Last week Dennison complained that protest groups were growing up everywhere in the city "like poison toadstools."

Henderson declared; "I am proud to be a member of many of those mushrooming protest groups so dangerous to the mayor's diet — like the Vietnam Mobilization Committee and the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. One of the main purposes of our campaign will be to build these movements, not stifle them the way the present administration has done."

Each of the candidates developed this theme: the socialist campaign was out to represent those who are now unrepresented in the plush chambers and shiny corridors of City Hall. As Dowson expressed it: "We're going to talk about the immediate problems and advance a program to resolve them. We're also going to talk about the hopes, the anticipations of widening layers of the population, and project the path by which they will be realized."

Henderson elaborated: "We stand for free rapid transit; for a crash program of low cost housing, tenant controlled; for an elected police commission; an end to pollution and full equality for women and ethnic minorities. And we will tax big business and industry, not tenants and small homeowners, to realize these aims."

The Young Socialist candidates for Board of Education discussed the needs and aspirations of students for whom the socialist campaign will also be fighting. They castigated the present cutbacks in education and the lack of control students have over their lives as students. Heather Thompson, an 18-year old high school student, and Board of Education candidate in Ward 8, told the rally:

"We're saying that we need schools that not only teach the truth, but which also act as organizing centres for social change." The other two Young Socialist candidates for Board of Education are Cliff Mack, 21-year old University of Toronto student, running in Ward 6.

photo by MacInnis

SOCIALIST NOMINATION RALLY Oct. 27 at Socialist Campaign Headquarters, 334 Queen Street W., Toronto. Campaign phone number is 364-5908.

and Abie Weisfeld, 24-year old York University student, running in Ward 4.

The campaign has already received considerable coverage on television, radio and in the Toronto newspapers. At the rally Henderson summed up the challenge presented by the campaign:

"We follow directly in the footsteps of the first mayor of Toronto — the revolutionary democrat William Lyon Mackenzie. We too would pose a revolutionary alternative, not just to the big business owners of this city, but we would do as he did then — mobilize the council and the people of Toronto against the 'Family Compact' of our time. We would mobilize against the capitalist system of Canada for a socialist Canada and a socialist world."

photo by MacInnis

CANDIDATE SPEAKS OUT. Henderson, addressing Oct. 28 rally called by Toronto Vietnam Mobilization Committee, calls on protesters to build opposition to Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

labor Challenge #67 Nov 1972

Crisis in Chile shakes Allende regime

by GERRY FOLEY

"At about 3:00 a.m. on an ordinary day, the telephone rang in a house in the Pedro de Valdivia section of the well-to-do Barrio Alto residential area of Santiago. A housewife heard a voice at the other end say that a 'No. 3 alarm' had been issued. The sleepy woman left her bedroom and immediately began to fill the bathtub with water, while she shouted to wake up the rest of the family. She reminded her husband that a 'No. 3 alarm' called for getting the car ready to leave immediately.

Salvador Allende

"An hour later, while the house was kept in semidarkness, according to the instructions, the telephone rang again. The same voice said: 'The danger is over.' The woman went to empty the bathtub, and the household quickly returned to normal."

An article in the October 10 issue of Punto Final, the biweekly magazine of the Chilean MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria — Movement of the Revolutionary left) explained the meaning of this incident:

"The voice on the telephone belonged to one of the home vigilance squads of Proteco, the acronym for the fascist organization Proteccion a la Comunidad (Community Protection), which is the cover for one of the apparatuses that have been created in Chile to organize those actively opposing the Allende government."

The MIR organ described how middle-class areas have been tightly organized and whipped up to a fever pitch of anti-Communist fanaticism by well-organized gangs.

Since August the right-wing opponents of President Salvador Allende, both inside and outside the state apparatus, have mounted increasing pressure on the popular-front regime. In this campaign they have been able to exploit popular discontent created by rising prices for consumer goods and shortages of essential items. Faced with imperialist economic reprisals and the sabotage of local capitalists, retailers, and big farmers, the government has found itself in worsening economic difficulties.

Trying to remain within the framework of capitalist legality, Allende has been unable either to take decisive measures against rightist subversion or to meet the demands of the masses whose hopes for a better life were aroused by the popular-front victory on September 4, 1970, and who have been hardest hit by rising prices and shortages. This September prices rose again by more than 22 percent.

In the second week of October, the pressures on the Allende government jumped to a new level. A nationwide truck strike beginning October 10 brought serious shortages of gasoline and flour, forcing the regime to declare martial law in an area from Valparaiso province, 85 miles north of the capital, to Bio-Bio province, 315 miles to the south. About 70 percent of the population lives in this belt.

The truckers' strike was touched off when the government refused to meet the demands of the Confederation of Truck Owners for higher cargo rates. According to an October 12 UPI dispatch, the owners were also unhappy about a state trucking company being set up in the south of the country.

In an effort to stop the strike,

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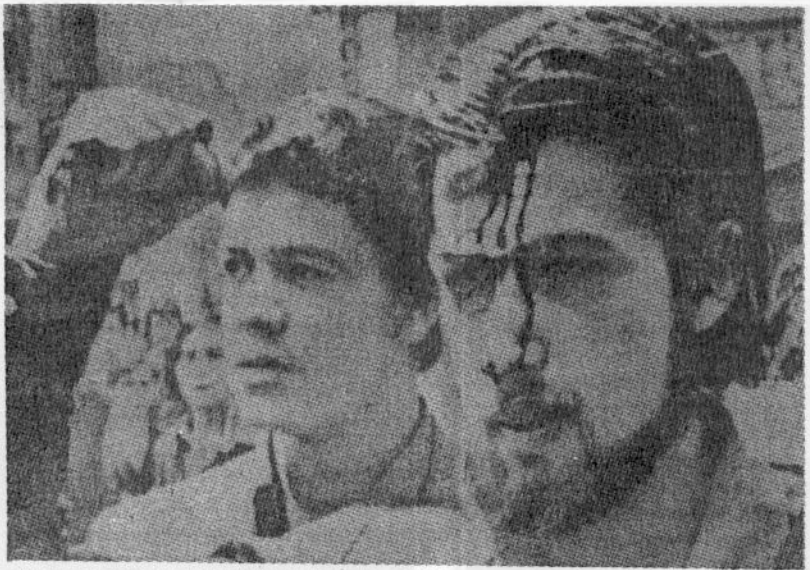

INJURED DEMONSTRATOR. Chilean radical salutes with clenched fist during street fighting with right-wing rioters in Santiago.

which threatened to halt the supply of bread, among other things, the government ordered the arrest of Leon Vilarin, the president of the confederation, along with 160 owners and drivers. In this case, the undersecretary of the interior, Daniel Vergara, invoked the internal security law against subversion.

On October 12, the small businessmen's, retailers', builders', and large farmers' associations declared a strike in sympathy with the truckers.

"Jorge Fontaine, president of Chile's Confederation of Production and Commerce, speaking on behalf of all the sympathy strikers, said the walkout would begin tomorrow and continue for an indefinite period," UPI reported October 12 from Santiago.

It was a small businessmen's strike that provoked the last crisis of the regime in August.

In the night of October 13-14, the government seized all of the radio stations in the country, reportedly to prevent the rightists from spreading alarmist rumors. The regime and its supporters have often complained about right-wing stations and commentators inciting fears of coming shortages and of "Communist atrocities."

Just after midnight on October 13, Allende broadcast a message denouncing fascists and profascists who, he said, were trying to paralyze Chile. But "he also called on the Government's left-wing supporters to abstain from any moves — such as the occupation of factories, communications centers, or public buildings — that could be interpreted as a 'provocation' and cause the army to stand against the Government," an AP dispatch reported October 13.

Allende had good reason to worry about the attitude of the army. The state of emergency decreed by the under secretary of the interior, a member of the Communist party, put the military in effective control of the country.

"Gen. Hector Bravo, the commander of the Santiago garrison who is in charge of the state of emergency in the capital, warned that any public meetings or disorders would be dissolved 'with utmost energy,' AP reported October 13."

In its anxiety to defend itself by "constitutional" means, the popular-front government denied freedoms not only to the militant right but to the left and to the workers' and people's organizations. Moreover, since the state apparatus remains fundamentally under bourgeois control and the right is already well organized, these restrictions can be expected to be much more effective against the left than against the reactionary opponents of the regime.

In fact, by ordering harsh administrative measures against the rightists and at the same time repressing the masses and preventing them from taking control of the society, Allende risked infuriating the petty-bourgeois layers supporting the paramilitary right and, in the last analysis, leaving himself defenseless against them.

One of the dangers facing the country was pointed out by Edgardo Enriquez, a member of the Political Committee of the MIR, in the October 10 Punto Final: "Historical experience shows that while fascist movements develop in prerevolutionary situations, or situations with prerevolutionary features, it is no less true that fascism can only grow and spread in a situation where there is a prolonged and persistent working-class upsurge but where, because of a vacillating and conciliationist policy by the reformist political leaderships of the popular movement, the workers fail to take power into their own hands."

Another danger facing the popular-front government was pointed up by a speech of Senator Benjamin Prado at the March plenum of the Christian Democratic party: "We are not interested in overthrowing Allende; we are interested in winning him over. And in order to do that it is essential that he remain in his post until 1976 but be left without any popular support."

The Christian Democratic strategy expressed by Prado corresponds to what seem to be the main objectives of Washington, to wear down and discredit this unstable leftist regime without at the same time destroying the credibility of the "peaceful road to change."

— Intercontinental Press

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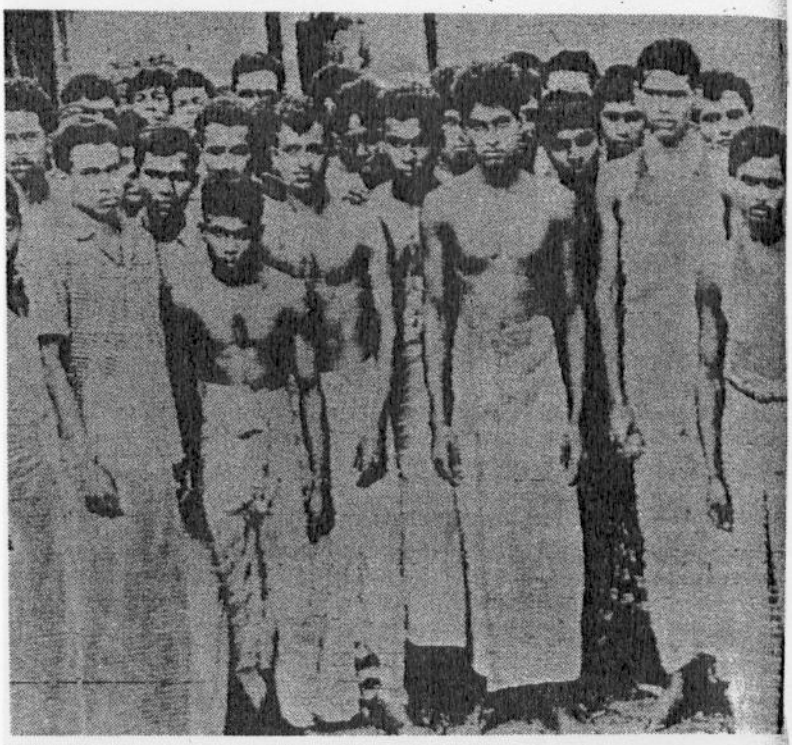
Appeal from Ceylon jail

by ROHANA WIJEWEERA

Rohana Wijeweera is one of the central leaders of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP — People's Liberation Front), a rebel youth movement in Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon). As such, he has been a major target of the Bandaranaike regime's sweeping repression. Wijeweera was arrested in March 1971, even before the April youth rebellion. His arrest was in fact the harbinger of the government's assault on the JVP.

Imprisoned since his arrest in one of Sri Lanka's concentration camps, Wijeweera was among the first of the rebels to be brought to trial before the newly created criminal justice commissions.

From prison, Wijeweera has sent the following appeal for worldwide solidarity with the victims of the Sri Lanka repression. It was written in English.



SRI LANKA [CEYLON] REPRESSION: Thousands of political prisoners still remain behind bars in Ceylon. Above, a group of youthful dissidents arrested in Anuradhapura during the anti-Bandaranaike government upsurge in 1971.

It is well known to the world that the ruling capitalist class of our country, Ceylon, in association with the dark reactionary forces of foreign imperialism, has temporarily repressed the Ceylon proletariat and its political organization, the Lanka Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front of Ceylon), by cruel violent and counter-revolutionary action, in order to protect its exploitative system, maintain its class privileges, and prevent its class rule from being overthrown.

Since March 1971 the bourgeois counter revolution in Ceylon has achieved a temporary and unstable military victory only by committing on a widespread scale and in a manner that appears incredible, the most barbarous, despicable and inhuman atrocities which constitute the worst terror in our history.

At this moment, when the reactionary and corrupt capitalist ruling clique with the generous assistance and support as well as the blessings of reactionary foreign imperialist powers of various kinds — with the murderous Yankee imperialists at their head — has cruelly repressed the Ceylon proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard, the People's Liberation Front, and caused it to retreat, we as true Marxist-Leninists in accordance with the supreme principles of proletarian internationalism seek your moral and material support and solidarity.

Peoples of all Lands!

We appeal to you.

1. To compel the murderous fascist and dictatorial government of Sirima Bandaranaike, sheltering behind a democratic mask, to repeal immediately and completely the so-called Public Security Act which it has brought into force;

2. To compel it to lift immediately the ban imposed under the emergency regulations on the People's Liberation Front, the vanguard of the Ceylon proletariat, and to remove the repressive measures against the revolutionary movement;

3. To help in revealing the manner in which the reactionary ruling clique which has taken on the character of a "constitutional dictatorship" has used the corrupt and pro-imperialist police forces and sections of the armed services, private terrorist gangs, pilots and aircraft, as well as CIA advice and methods, to massacre in the very country they were ruling, the very people who placed them in power, destroying whole villages, demolishing and burning houses, raping women, wiping out whole families, murdering more than 15,000 revolutionary young men and women and more than twice that number of innocent people — actions that it carried out and is still carrying out in order to repress the revolutionary movement;

To reveal the facts about these barbarous actions that have been concealed and that will shock and appall the whole world;

4. To help in exposing and defeating the insane policies, destructive and treacherous to the people, pursued by this "fascist

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democratic" ruling clique, which keeps ten thousand patriotic young men and women imprisoned in inhuman conditions under cover of "rehabilitation;" to compel them to release all those against whom there are no charges, to inform all those against whom there are supposed charges of their nature, and to afford them immediate access to lawyers;

5. To compel them to repeal the arbitrary, inhuman and savage Criminal Justice Commissions Act, to hold trials of political prisoners under the ordinary law earlier in force, and to half immediately the political repression at present maintained under that Act;

6. To help in revealing the objective reality in opposition to the unprincipled and foul lies, distortions, insults and slanders directed against the Ceylon proletarian movement and its political core, the People's Liberation Front; its principles, policies, programme and its activists;

7. We seek finally your moral and material support, your endorsement and solidarity, in every form, every manner and every means, to tear off the "socialist" and "democratic" masks of the reactionary capitalist ruling Sirima Bandaranaike clique, to expose to the whole world its fascist capitalist nakedness, to protect in retreat the People's Liberation Front, the striking-force of the Ceylon proletariat; to protect the purity and universality of Marxist-Leninist thought, and the sacred right of oppressed humanity to revolt against cruel and arbitrary rulers; to protect the revolutionary honour of more than 15,000 revolutionary young men and women, members of the People's Liberation Front, who sacrificed their lives; to protect the human and social rights of millions of Ceylon proletarians, and to carry forward the Ceylon socialist proletarian revolution to victory.

Wherever you may be in the world, if you are a Marxist-Leninist, if you are a revolutionary, if you are a Communist, if you are a socialist, if you are a progressive, if you are a democrat, if you are a humanitarian, if you are an upholder of justice, we seek your co-operation.

On behalf of more than 15,000 Marxist-Leninist young men and women who found no burial place, who were burnt alive, who had to die seeing their sisters, wives and mothers raped before their eyes, who were buried alive, who sacrificed their lives on the battle field, who embraced death in going forward against the enemy knowing they were doomed to die, who did not have the fortune of having their funeral dirges sung by the millions of proletarians whom they served; on behalf of the tens of thousands of revolutionaries who lost their homes, wives and children, brothers and sisters, who were imprisoned, who were crippled and maimed; on behalf of the youth of this country who cannot hope to emerge from the darkness and cruel slavery of the monstrous bourgeois dictatorship into the light of liberation without a revolutionary uprising, without a rebuilding of the People's Liberation Front, without the forward movement of the proletariat; on behalf of the proletariat of Ceylon, defenceless before the rising economic, political, social and military oppression of the bourgeoisie, we appeal to you to fulfil your international proletarian and human duties.

From dark prisons we raise the cry, high, powerful and sacred — "Let proletarian internationalism triumph!" — that was raised by our beloved teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin.

On a land without justice, where both men and rights, justice and fairness, have been burnt at the altar of the vicious purposes of the capitalist ruling clique, we extend in comradeship our hands, bound by the chains of the bourgeoisie, emaciated yet strong.

Before the supreme tribunal of the conscience of mankind we appeal against the savage repression of the capitalist ruling clique of Ceylon.

Peoples of all lands!

It is from you we expect justice and right.

—Intercontinental Press

From November 13-22, Vijaya Wickrama — a spokesman for the Ceylon Solidarity Campaign in defense of the victims of represseion in Sri Lanka will be making a speaking tour of Canadian campuses. He will speak on POLITICAL REPRESSION IN SRI LANKA (CEYLON). Information about arranging speaking engagements for Vijaya Wickrama, who has just returned from Sri Lanka, can be had by contacting Phil Courneyeur, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto 133, Ontario: Phone 364-5908.

Socialists in municipal elections

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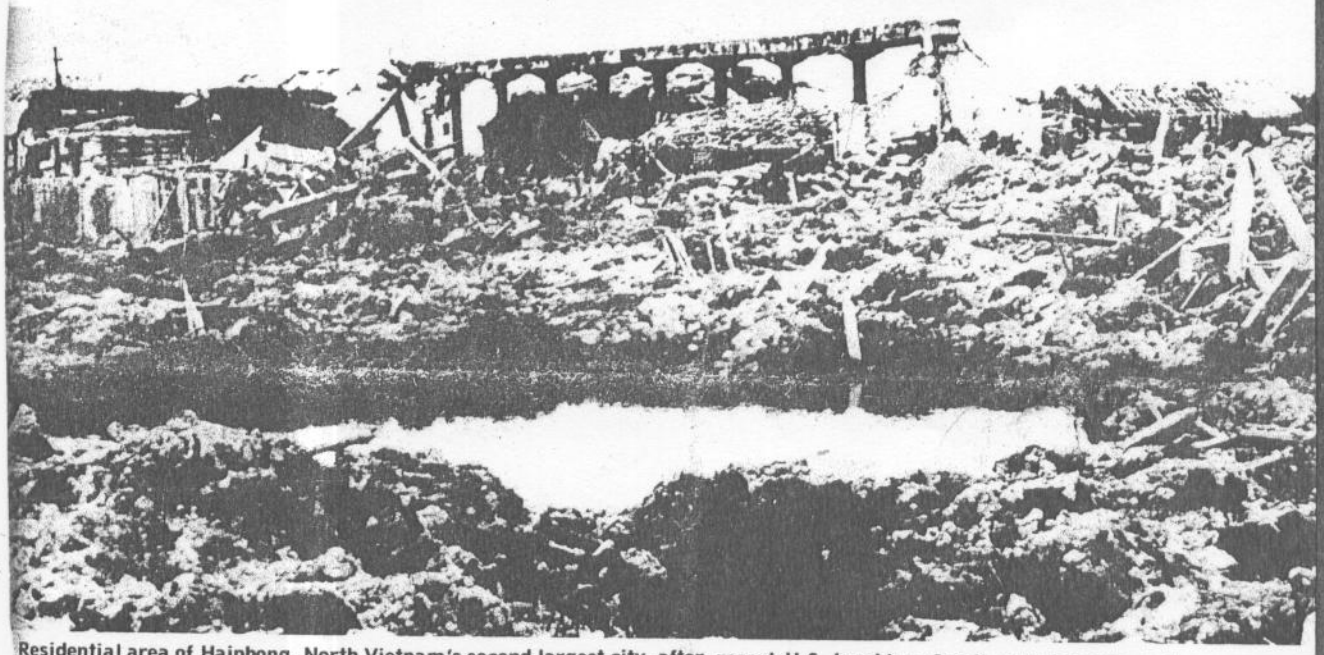
Build antiwar movement to defend Indochinese



Residential area of Haiphong, North Vietnam's second largest city, after recent U.S. bombing. Small pond is bomb crater.

by THE EDITORS

Nov. 15 — With nearly 550 bombing raids yesterday, the United States is continuing the frenzied air attacks against Vietnam that it began in the first days of November with the hypocritical excuse of an "enemy build-up"

Pouring aircraft into puppet dictator Thieu's hands, such quantities that the Saigon regime will shortly have the third-largest air force in the world, the U.S. is deploying its own bombers over the whole of Indochina, setting new records of destruction. On Nov. 5, nearly 200 B-52 strikes hit Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, dropping 2.5 million pounds of bombs, along with 120 fighter-bomber attacks. Yesterday's raids included 40 B-52 attacks, five of them near Saigon. The day before, more than 100 of the horrendous stratofortress bombers struck throughout Indochina.

The Toronto Globe and Mail, which only a week ago was editorializing that the war was over, now is taking notice of the real situation — increased bombing, diplomatic pressure to wring more concessions out of Hanoi, and the massive buildup of arms for the Saigon regime. In an editorial today entitled "Peace seems in retreat," the Globe calls present U.S. moves "hardly a harbinger of peace."

The Canadian antiwar movement could have told the Globe and Mail — and in fact has been doing so consistently with its demonstrations and conferences — that neither the U.S. manouvers at the peace table nor its military escalation, nor Nixon's sanctimonious election speeches mean peace. They are careful steps in the unchanged U.S. plan to win the war by whatever means are necessary.

The fact is that Nixon is upping the ante on the Vietnamese. Having squeezed significant concessions out of them at the negotiating table with the help of pressure from the Moscow and Peking bureaucrats, and having been safely elected on a promise of peace, Nixon is demanding yet another pound of flesh. Thieu's supposed reticence to sign the Paris accords is the U.S. excuse for stalling. Thieu wants — that is, Nixon wants — the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from the South, the abandonment of the NLF guerrillas to the bloody attacks of a Saigon regime armed to the teeth and led by U.S. "civilian advisors."

The key question in Vietnam — unsolved in 1945, unsolved by the 1954 Geneva accords, pushed back by the years of escalation — remains self-determination for the Vietnamese people. Until they are allowed this basic right to decide their own future, there will be no peace in Indochina. As long as the U.S. is in Indochina, and the Saigon regime, which survives only because of American backing, remains, the "peace" of a U.S.-imposed settlement can mean only the "peace" of genocidal destruction.

Another force is apparently willing to help out the U.S. if necessary — Canada. The Trudeau government has put Canadian troops on alert for Vietnam "peacekeeping" duty. External Affairs minister Sharp says he expects Canada will be part of an international force to "supervise and control" a possible ceasefire agreement.

Canada, with its 18-year record of criminal complicity in the crimes of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, can be expected to continue that role, in enforcing an unfair, **imposed** settlement on the Vietnamese. Any foreign intervention, no matter what the uniform, would constitute a denial of the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination.

The widespread illusions fostered by Nixon and Kissinger, that peace is imminent, has had a sharply negative effect on the ability of the antiwar movement to bring people into the streets against the war. These illusions also put severe pressure on the antiwar movement itself to give up its struggle. Some elements in the

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#68 Nov 1972

What next for B.C. NDP?

Put program into action!

by RACHEL WOODHOUSE

All across B.C., members and supporters of the NDP, both new and long time, are now preparing for the party's provincial convention to be held in Vancouver Nov. 24-26. This convention, the first following the NDP's provincial victory at the polls, is of great significance for the working people of B.C. After so long a struggle, the NDP is now in office and has the opportunity to implement the policies and programs developed over the years. The convention has the challenge of establishing the priorities for the NDP government for the upcoming spring session of the legislature.

Since its election in August, the NDP government has given notice of its intention to carry out several programs of major importance. Premier Dave Barrett has announced plans to take over B.C. Telephone Co. within the NDP's first term in office. Norman Levi, the NDP minister of Rehabilitation, has stated the NDP's support of striking or locked-out trade unionists receiving unemployment insurance benefits. Labor minister King has outlined a schedule for changes in the provincial labor laws, which will entail a commission of enquiry seeking the views of labor, management and the public over an extended period. This last is in many ways the most important item.

The new government has also held a special legislative session since the election, at which the most significant measure passed was the raising of the minimum wage to $2.00 an hour. Working people who have struggled to exist at the previous minimum see this legislation as a real attempt by the NDP to meet their most urgent needs. This move produced strong reactions from bourgeois interests across Canada — from B.C. restaurant owners accustomed to pay less-than-subsistence wages, to leaders of other provincial governments who are now under increased pressure to raise their paltry minimum wage levels. The raise, creating an upward pressure on wages throughout the province, will act as an important part of labor's defence against the attempts of the capitalist class and their governments to drive down wages across the country. However, even if seen in this context, the failure of the NDP to extend the jurisdiction of the minimum wage to domestic and agricultural workers and those under 17 is very serious. These sectors of the working class are among the most grossly exploited in the province, and will remain so until the law is further changed.

The first session also saw passage of the bill establishing a guaranteed minimum monthly income of $200 for pensioners and the handicapped. One of the best aspects of the long-overdue reform is that it deals with indivudals rather than couples — that elderly women, for instance, will be entitled to the guaranteed minimum irrespective of their husbands' financial status. However, pensioners' organizations in B.C. have been quick to point out the weak spot in the bill — it makes no provision for rent controls or other measures to ensure that the increased rate means an increase in real income. Already hundreds of landlords are raising rents or evicting their elderly tenants, which highlights the importance of the demand for tenants' collective bargaining rights, as promised by the government. This legislation, along with a freeze on rents and a vastly expanded program of public housing, must be a top priority for the spring legislative session.

The infamous Mediation Commission and its powers to impose compulsory arbitration on trade unionists were abolished by the first legislative session. This move can only be greeted with enthusiasm by

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AGAINST COMPULSORY ARBITRATION. NDP government must end all anti-labor legislation.

labor Challenge

all the working people of B.C. as a sign of the NDP's moving to meet its commitments to labor. But some of the government's other actions in connection with this give cause for concern, especially Attorney-General Alex Macdonald's attempt to accommodate the wishes of the former Commissioners in regard to the fat salaries the Socreds provided for them on a 7-year contract basis. The NDP has no "moral obligation" to pay these people who raked in over $40,000 a year for the remainder of the contract period, or to find jobs for them within the Department of Labor.

The government's approach to the Mediation Commission takes on even more disturbing significance when seen in the context of Labor minister King's plans for changes in labor legislation. On Nov. 9 King stated that there would be no major changes in B.C.'s labor laws until 1974 at the earliest. He proposes a commission of inquiry composed of persons "acceptable to both labor and management," to hear evidence, briefs, etc., at public hearings throughout the province. The aim of the commission is to prepare legislation pleasing to all sectors of society, since, as King puts it, "We regard ourselves as a party that represents the total community."

This program should cause NDP members and supporters considerable concern. Over the years, the labor movement has developed and improved a comprehensive body of demands for labor legislation, and the NDP has done the same. The enactment of such legislation need not wait upon the completion of the public hearings, since whatever valuable proposals might come from them could be acted upon later. Most important, the NDP's responsibility now is to remove the most flagrantly anti-labor laws introduced by the Socreds. Legislation now on the books denies trade unionists democratic rights such as informational picketing and making financial donations to political parties. No "replacement" legislation is needed for such laws as these. What King's proposal means is that these laws, against which trade unionists have struggled for years, will remain in effect for at least another 18 months. The NDP's holding of office does not alter the fact that these laws exist and can be used against the working people of B.C.

It is especially ironic that Barrett and King, addressing the recent convention of the B.C. Federation of Labor, should have urged the gathering to recognize a new era for labor in B.C., to begin to organize the unorganized, to build the trade union movement. What does this "encouragement" mean, with no further change in labor legislation planned for a considerable period of time?

Although King's announcement was made while the convention was still in process, the B.C. Federation of Labor leadership expressed no opposition to what is clearly backtracking on the part of the NDP Cabinet. Rank and file militants will not react like this. The challenge before them, and indeed before the left in the party as a whole, is to begin to organize to put pressure on the party leadership to ensure that it meeets its commitments to the working people and oppressed of this province. A special policy convention of the B.C. Federation of Labor is needed, to complete a comprehensive program of legislation designed to meet the needs of labor — not big business. Policy formulated by the labor movement and the NDP itself is what the party must introduce and implement.

The provincial NDP convention presents an opportunity for these and other questions to be raised and debated by the party membership. The NDP must, in the spring session, introduce a resolution condemning the U.S. war on Indochina and Canada's role in it, as they tried to do while in opposition. The government must move swiftly to enact its program and policies on women's rights especially on child care, abortion clinics and equal pay. Although the format and structure of the convention will cause difficulties for those interested in seeing full and democratic discussion, this is simply another reason for the left in the B.C. NDP to face up to the challenge of the need to organize. For socialists in the party, for all those who want to see the party implement its program and develop that program further, it is clear that now that the NDP is in office, an active and vocal left wing is needed more than ever.

Dave Barrett

labor Challenge #68 Nov 1972

Toronto civic slate

Socialists fight City Hall

by JOAN CAMPANA
Campaign manager

"As a feminist and a socialist I represent the future of humanity. You and this meeting tonight represent the worst of the past." With these words, Jacquie Henderson, League for Socialist Action candidate for mayor of Toronto, walked out of a candidates' meeting sponsored on November 7 by the Toronto Junior Board of Trade.

The dinner-meeting, attended by more than 100 of Toronto's professional and business community, had been organized around a series of sexist, anti-woman and anti-gay skits and jokes.

In a protest demonstration held the following day in front of the Board of Trade building, Henderson assailed the other mayoralty candidates for remaining in the meeting and the other men at the dinner. "These are the business representatives and hand-raisers who aspire to, or already control City Hall," she said.

"Only the socialist campaign for a labor city government is challenging this stranglehold on the city. Our campaign alone speaks for a world in which sexism is eliminated — for a city and a world in which a handful of businessmen do not control and warp the lives of the vast majority."

This main theme of the socialist campaign had already come across very clearly at the first mayoralty meeting attended by a lively crowd of more than 450 people in Toronto's St. Lawrence Centre. As the Toronto Star expressed it: "Almost every issue from the Spadina Expressway to the Vietnam War, and from abortion to developers was covered during the more than two hours of speeches and questions."

In response to antiwar activist Doug Williams who questioned the mayoralty candidates on Federal government plans to send Canadian troops to Vietnam, she alone stated her unequivocal opposition. She called on City Hall to open the streets of Toronto to the antiwar movement. "They do it for the Santa Claus parade," she said, "but not for the anti-war movement. One of these represents the real world and its real problems; the other is a dream."

Henderson also spoke on the need for more child care facilities and abortion clinics for women, for taxing churches and for an elected police commission.

The extensive coverage the Toronto Star devoted to the meeting, and to Henderson's views, is typical of the coverage the socialist campaign is getting, and testifies to the impact Henderson has already had in the election. Already the socialist candidates have been to more than 20 meetings and interviews, speaking directly to more than 1800 people. Radio, television and press coverage has taken the challenge of a labor City Hall to countless others.

photo by MacInnis
Jacquie Henderson

The socialist campaign has had an impact in another direction, as well. Obviously alarmed by the coverage and the response the League for Socialist Action Young Socialist campaign was getting, the Communist Party of Canada decided to enter their Metro Toronto secretary, Nelson Clarke, as an "independent" candidate in the mayoralty race.

But it hasn't slowed the socialist campaign down in any way. At a meeting November 13 at the University of Toronto, more than 150 students heard Henderson tackle both Clarke and the bourgeois politicians. She received warm applause from the audience on one issue after another.

After the meeting, a supporter of mayoralty candidate David Rotenberg, a Conservative party member and the big business choice in the elections, summed up the impression Henderson left on the crowd. "Your candidate should get an Oscar," he told me. "She was the best one in there."

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VOTE
SOCIALIST

The League for Socialist Action & Young Socialists 1972 Civic Slate

Jacquie HENDERSON for mayor

Ward 4
Darrel Furlotte
Alderman
Abie Weisfeld
Bd. of Education

Ward 6
Cliff Mack
Bd. of Education

Ward 8
Ellie Kirzner
Alderwoman
Heather Thomson
Bd. of Education

For a Labor City Hall

Socialist Campaign Headquarters, 334 Queen Street West
364-5908 or 363-9618

Kick the corporate bums out of City Hall

The major issue in this election is: Who is to hold the power in Toronto — the hangers-on and hand-raisers for big business who presently dominate City Hall, or the other 98 percent of the population, the working people, tenants, women, students, immigrants?

The New Democratic Party posed this question sharply during the recent federal election with its campaign against the "corporate bums": the "ripoff" of workers by big developers, landlords, businessmen.

And that's what the socialist slate — headed by Jacquie Henderson for mayor — is doing on the civic level. The League for Socialist Action candidates are campaigning to kick the "corporate bums" and their agents out of City Hall.

The present city council did nothing while thousands of workers were thrown on the scrap heap through closures (Dunlop, Acme Screw and Gear, Frigidaire) and mass layoffs (Douglas, DeHavilland, Johnson, Mathey and Mallory, etc.).

While jobs are eliminated, prices soar — and with them the profits of the giant corporations whose head offices or Canadian branch offices are centered in Toronto's financial district. Food prices are up 10 percent from last year; housing costs are rising at an annual rate of 12 percent.

Yet Toronto's outside civic workers were forced to strike for four weeks to wring a meagre 15 percent wage increase over two years from the resisting city council — scarcely enough to keep abreast of the escalating cost of living.

And then this council turned around and voted itself a 100 percent wage increase and a retroactive pension plan, all at taxpayers' expense!

Defend Jobs and Living Standards

A labor-socialist administration at City Hall would lead the fight against unemployment and skyrocketing prices. As the largest employer in Toronto, the city would set an example for all industry and business in the city by implementing a sliding scale of wages and hours for the ten thousand civic employees. Wages would rise automatically with increases in the cost of living as determined by the trade unions; a shorter work week at the same take-home pay would create more jobs and spread the benefits of increased technology through the workforce.

A labor-socialist city hall would combat the unemployment crisis by launching a massive program of public works — construction of public housing, child care centers, transit systems, sewage treatment plants. It could, where necessary, take over industries that threaten to close and operate them under the control of the workers themselves.

A labor-socialist administration would put the extensive resources of city hall — from printing facilities to public meeting halls — at the disposal of trade unions, organizations of unemployed, women's rights organizations, tenants associations, civil liberties and consumers rights groups, the "protest groups" that Mayor Dennison complains are springing up everywhere "like poisoned toadstools." It would help these groups mobilize a concerted campaign against unemployment, inflation and discrimination, and pressure other levels of government to do likewise.

The greatest single source of high prices is war-primed inflation. A socialist mayor and council would lead in speaking out against Washington's continuing aggression in Indochina. They would denounce Ottawa's plans to send Canadian soldiers to enforce a "settlement" that denies the Vietnamese people their right to self-determination.

End Big Business Control

A recent study by the Social Planning Council found that more than a quarter of a million Metro residents are living in conditions of "poverty" as defined by government authorities. Hundreds of thousands more, many of them super-exploited immigrants enduring low wages and job insecurity, are coping only with great difficulty. The gap between rich and poor in Toronto is widening, the council reported, warning that Metro could become an "urban disaster area" within coming years "if growth isn't controlled."

Yet the present big-business council continues to dish out millions of dollars and thousands of acres of land to big private "developers" without regard to the social needs of the majority of citizens. Metro Centre, Eaton's-Fairview, Quebec-Gothic, South of St. James Town — the list of big developer-city council deals passed over the protests of residents' groups goes on and on

Socialist campaign headquarters

334 QUEEN STREET WEST (AT SPADINA)
364-5908 or 363-9618
Open daily 10 am-6 pm, 7 pm-10 pm

Small wonder. The aldermen now contesting the mayoralty are typical of the majority of city council. All represent the "corporate bums" who run this city. They are members of the bosses' parties; two are Tories, one is a Liberal.

Rotenberg boasts of his responsibility for the record of the past city council, and is linked through mortgage holdings with one of the city's worst landlords, the notorious Philip Wynn. O'Donohue has been described in the Globe and Mail as "the developers' best answer to the citizens' opposition at City Hall." Crombie, who claims on occasion that he stands for "reform," states in his campaign literature that he "is admired and trusted by residents and developers both; and he has done it without any sacrifice of principle" — which raises interesting questions about his "principles."

For a Labor-Socialist City Hall!

Toronto contains 10 percent of Canada's population and the highest concentration of corporate wealth in the country. Through its actions, the city government can be a powerful force for change at other levels of government, too.

For a fighting city hall, that speaks to the needs and interests of the majority, we need a council that is elected by and responsible to the working people of this city.

The present mayor was elected in 1969 with 66,000 votes. In this year's federal election, over 80,000 Toronto citizens voted for NDP candidates. What if that consciousness were mobilized at the civic level?

The NDP took an important step forward in 1969 when it presented a partial slate of candidates on the party label. But this year only a few individual New Democrats are running — while in cities like Vancouver and Regina the party is moving ahead with full slates for all posts, including the mayoralty. The Toronto labor council has also retreated from its decision three years ago to endorse only NDPers.

For the official labor-NDP leadership it's back to Tweedledee-Tweedledum ward-heeling politics. Yet the experience of recent years has amply demonstrated the barren futility of individual "reform" candidates and aldermen, who are totally unable to carry out any significant changes. They have no common slate or program, and are in no way responsible to the working class. A big vote for Henderson and the socialist slate would give a strong impetus to the NDP to field a full slate next time.

The collapse of CO'72 confirms the inability of such multi-class "reform" coalitions to unite around or project a meaningful program of change, independent of and directed against the Big Business control of City Hall.

The only way to defeat the "corporate bums" is through independent labor political action — the challenge posed by the NDP federally and provincially. It has been left to the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists to present that alternative in this civic election. The LSA candidates for mayor and aldermen, and the YS candidates for Board of Education advocate a socialist program that poses working class power at city hall.

MERIDIAN PAYS ONLY THE GOING RATE

Philip Roth, president of Meridian Building Group, one of Canada's biggest developers, is sensitive to charges that Meridian is trying to defeat certain candidates in the election. Roth says reports he offered $20,000 to a prospective candidate in Ward 7 "are just ridiculous . . . It doesn't take these kinds of sums of money to elect an alderman." (Globe and Mail, Oct. 17)

Their campaign

"Camillo Milani, president of Milani and Milani Holdings Ltd., says his firm has budgetted some money for campaign contributions, but he won't say how much. He says his firm isn't doing any more than the railroad interests did in the federal elections in the 1870s."

— **Toronto Star, Nov. 11, 1972**

In the 1870s the railroad interests controlled the political pursestrings — and became the original corporate welfare bums. They were given millions of acres of land, millions of dollars in grants, for their support of pro-railroad candidates.

It's no different today. He who pays the piper calls the tune. Rotenberg and Crombie are in the Conservative party. O'Donohue is a Liberal. They are backed by various big business interests in Toronto, and by the big business parties — and when elecfed they'll act in the interests of big business. They admit that they will spend over $130,000 to buy their way into City Hall, to run it for their corporate backers.

and ours

The socialist slate provides the only real alternative in this election. The League for Socialist Action and Young Socialist candidates are fighting to end corporate power in Toronto and across Canada.

We get no support from the corporations or the Liberals or the Conservatives. All our supporters are ordinary citizens — workers, students, women, unemployed — who want a city in which human rights count for more than the "property rights" of the developers. Our supporters and candidates devote their time and their energy to fighting for a labor City Hall.

and yours

If you are among the majority of Torontonians, who don't live off profits from stocks or bonds or mortgages, then the socialist campaign is your campaign. A vote for Crombie, Rotenberg or O'Donohue is a vote for power to the big business interests. A vote for Jacquie Henderson for mayor is a vote for power to the other ninety-eight percent of us.

But the Socialist Campaign needs more than your votes.

Brochures and posters and mailings and telephones and office space all cost money. The money of ordinary citizens.

Those who pay the piper call the tune. So we're asking for **your** money — not for Eaton's money, or Meridian's money, or money from any of the other supporters of the status quo

There is nothing more important to spend your money on. A contribution to the socialist campaign is an investment in the fight for a labor City Hall—a big step towards a socialist Canada.

clip and mail to:
SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto.

( ) Enclosed is a donation of $ ..... to help finance the 1972 socialist campaign. (Make checks payable to LSA Mayoralty Campaign, or to Joan Campana, campaign manager.)

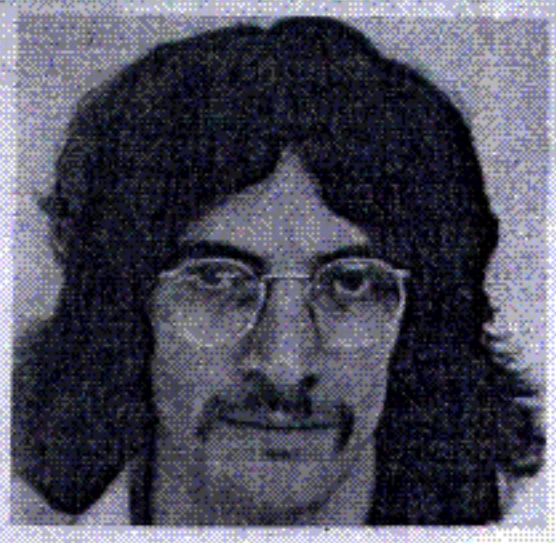
Name .....

Address .....

Phone .....

School or university (if any) .....

Young Socialists for Board of Education



ABIE WEISFELD, WARD 4

Abie Weisfeld attended Harbord Collegiate in Ward 4. He was the founder of the Harbord NDP club, and led the fight for the right of high school students to organize political clubs in their schools. Last year he wrote a report for the Waterloo Federation of Students on campus war research. Now 24, Weisfeld is a leading member of the York University Young Socialists and an organizer of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia.

CLIFF MACK WARD 6

Cliff Mack, 21, is a student at University of Toronto. He lives in Ward 6. He is active in the Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Young Socialists at U of T. Mack is the former chairman of the University of Victoria Young Socialists, and was the leader of a demonstration of 4,000 Victoria students against the Amchitka atomic test last year. He has helped to pay his university expenses by working as a logger in British Columbia, as a member of the International Woodworkers of America.

HEATHER THOMSON WARD 8

Heather Thomson, 18, is a Grade 11 student at Jarvis Collegiate, where she has organized a women's liberation group. Thomson is an active member of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. In order to finance her education, she took last year off to work, and was a member of the Canadian Food and Allied Workers Union. She is an executive member of the Toronto Young Socialists.

The Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes is a Canada-wide organization in the high schools and on university campuses. We are running in this election, and in similar elections elsewhere, to present the socialist alternative to the people of Canada.

We are feminists, young workers, gays, Quebec nationalists, antiwar organizers, student leaders. We are united in one organization because we have a common enemy — capitalism — and a common goal — socialism. The only way to end war, poverty, alienation, and oppression is to establish a socialist society with a democratically planned economy to ensure a decent life for every human being.

We believe that the working people have the power to change society. We support the New Democratic Party, the political party of organized labor, and we support the campaign to win the NDP to a socialist program.

We are internationalists. We support the Vietnamese, the Palestinians, the Irish, the Cubans, the Angolans — all the oppressed who are fighting for liberation. We support the movement for socialist democracy in the USSR, China and Eastern Europe.

Only the action of masses of people can change society. The YS-LJS works to organize mass actions to win the demands of women, Quebecois, and the antiwar movement.

We are part of the international student movement which has proved — in France in 1968, in the Kent-Cambodia upsurge in the U.S. in 1971, in the Amchitka protests in Canada last year — that it can be a powerful ally of the struggles of the working people and the oppressed. We are part of a worldwide movement of young socialists who share our goals and beliefs.

We think the world **can** and **must** be changed. If you think so too, join us. The Young Socialists.

Clip and mail to
YOUNG SOCIALISTS,
334 Queen St. West,
Toronto

( ) I want to join the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes
( ) Please send me more information
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ **Phone** _____
School or university (if any) _____

Jacquie Henderson for mayor

Jacquie Henderson has eleven years' experience in the labor and socialist movements. Now 25, she is a leading member of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

Henderson is active in the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. In 1968 she co-authored a brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, and presented it on behalf of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. She has toured the country speaking on feminism and socialism.

"I've been fighting for women's liberation since I became active in politics. Women's liberation, to me, means the liberation of all humanity, and the fight for women's rights is an integral part of the fight for a socialist future. In my mind, socialism and feminism are inseparable."

The socialist candidate for mayor attended the founding convention of the NDP in Ottawa in 1961, and returned to Vancouver to participate in launching the B.C. New Democratic Youth. She was one of the founders of the high school student antiwar movement in Vancouver.

"It was in high school that I first saw the power that people have when they organize in massive numbers. The bus company tried to increase student fares — so we organized demonstrations of thousands of students, we boycotted the buses, we held mass rallies — and we forced them to back down!"

In 1964, Jacquie Henderson and 44 other Canadian high school and university students spent six weeks in Cuba. She assisted in building a school for agricultural students.

"The Cubans have proven that massive low-rent housing can be built. They determined to provide decent housing for everyone, and despite the extreme poverty of the country, they have done it. Imagine what we could do in a rich country like Canada!"

In 1965 Henderson moved to Toronto, and worked as a packer at Domtar. She was elected to the executive of United Glass and Ceramic Workers Union, local 232.

In 1967 she became full-time organizer of the Toronto Young Socialists, and was later elected Executive-Secretary of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. In 1969 she was Young Socialist candidate for Board of Education in Ward 7. She is now editor of the socialist newspaper Labor Challenge.

"I joined the League for Socialist Action because I was convinced that changing the world, against the opposition of big business, would require the united action of millions of people. The LSA is the only organization working towards that.

"This civic election is an example. In this campaign, as in the past, the LSA candidates aren't running to get personal advancement, or even just to explain the issues. We're running to publicize and to assist all of the movements which are working towards a society free of corporate control. And if we're elected, we'll use the resources of the city for the same goal — to help organize women, antiwar demonstrations, tenants, workers — everyone who is fighting the system.

"That's what the campaign is for, and that's what the LSA is — a fighting organization that won't stop until the working people run this country. Everyone who supports that goal should support our campaign."

Schools to serve the majority

We live in an age of great social crisis. We have the highest level of technology in history yet its benefits are turned to war, and research into crucial needs such as safe birth control is neglected. Wheat fields lie fallow and grain prices rise, yet many Canadians go hungry. Giant corporations rake in huge profits while polluting our land, air and water.

The youth of Canada and Toronto face the challenge of these and many other critical problems. But our educational system is designed to teach us **not** to think, not to explore all points of view — to teach us to abstain from the struggle for change.

Our schools (and the present Board of Education) act to keep us subservient. Our schools consider the best student to be the most obedient student — those who accept meaningless education will do best in a lifetime of meaningless jobs. Our schools and the Board of Education are run in the interests of our future bosses — the tiny handful of corporation owners and managers who control Canada. The interests of the majority are ignored.

Our schools are undemocratic. We are not allowed to form political clubs, publish an uncensored student press, or hold meetings and assemblies on Vietnam. The schools promote discrimination against women and minority groups. When students want to protest the cutbacks in education spending, the principals lock the doors. Our schools contribute to the world's problems instead of working to solve them.

The Board of Education governs 100,000 students — but there isn't one student on it. The Board has accepted and implemented the cutbacks in education, the increased student-teacher ratio, and our irrelevant courses. Instead of acting to improve things, the Board devoted its term to "hours and hours of irrelevant bickering," according to the Nov. 10 Globe and Mail.

The Young Socialist candidates present the only alternative — a Board of Education run by and for the students and working people. We want the Board to turn the schools into instruments for social change.

Democracy in the Schools

The schools should be run democratically by the students and teachers who study and work in them. Students must control all discipline. Students must have the right to form political clubs, and be free to raise any point of view, to criticize without fear of reprisals. Every school must have a student-controlled Board-financed uncensored student newspaper.

Schools must teach the truth about labor's history, about working people's struggles for a better society. End religious discrimination by abolishing all religious exercises. No public funds for separate schools.

The Board must recognize and defend full rights for teachers to bargain collectively on wages benefits and working conditions.

Free Education

Stop all cutbacks in education spending now. No teacher layoffs or firings, no increase in class size, no course cuts.

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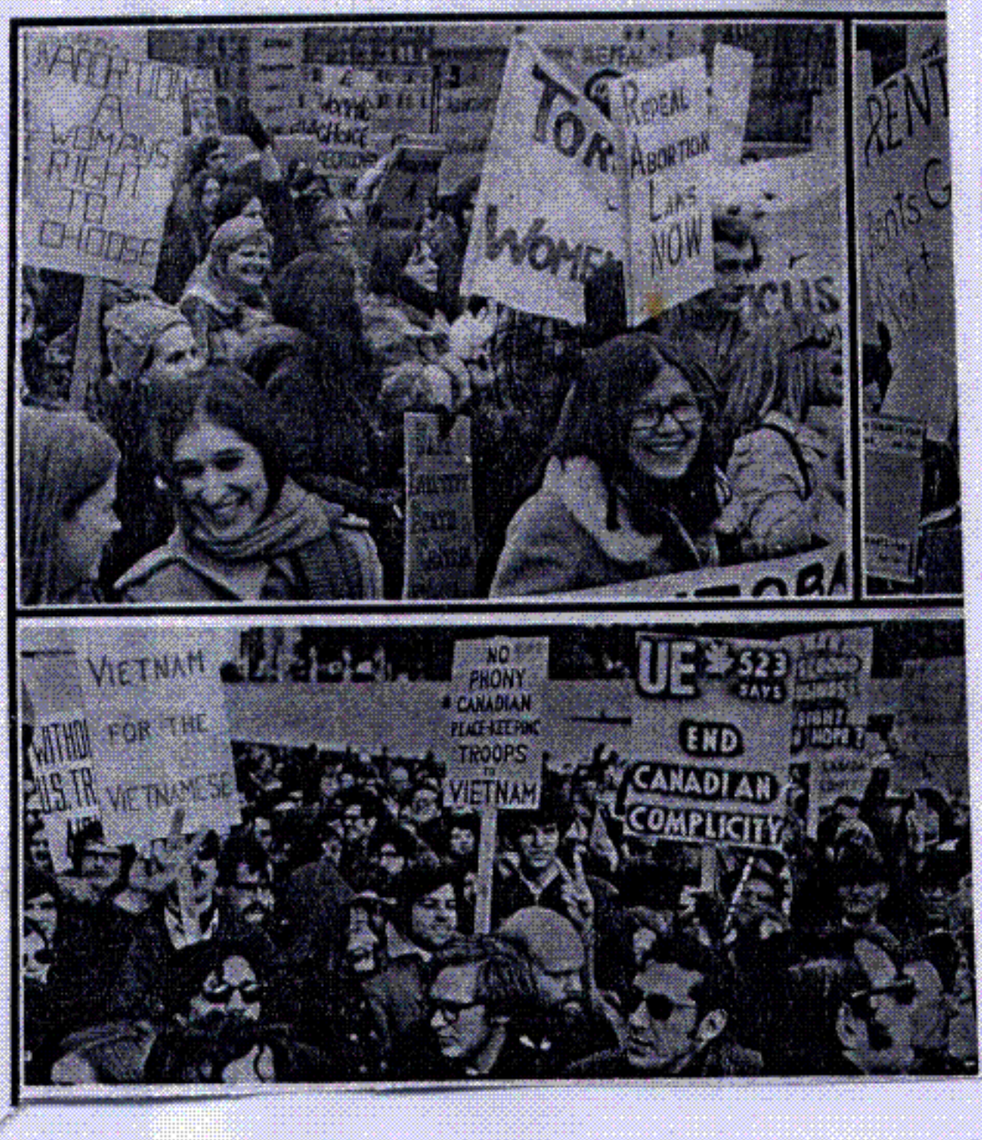
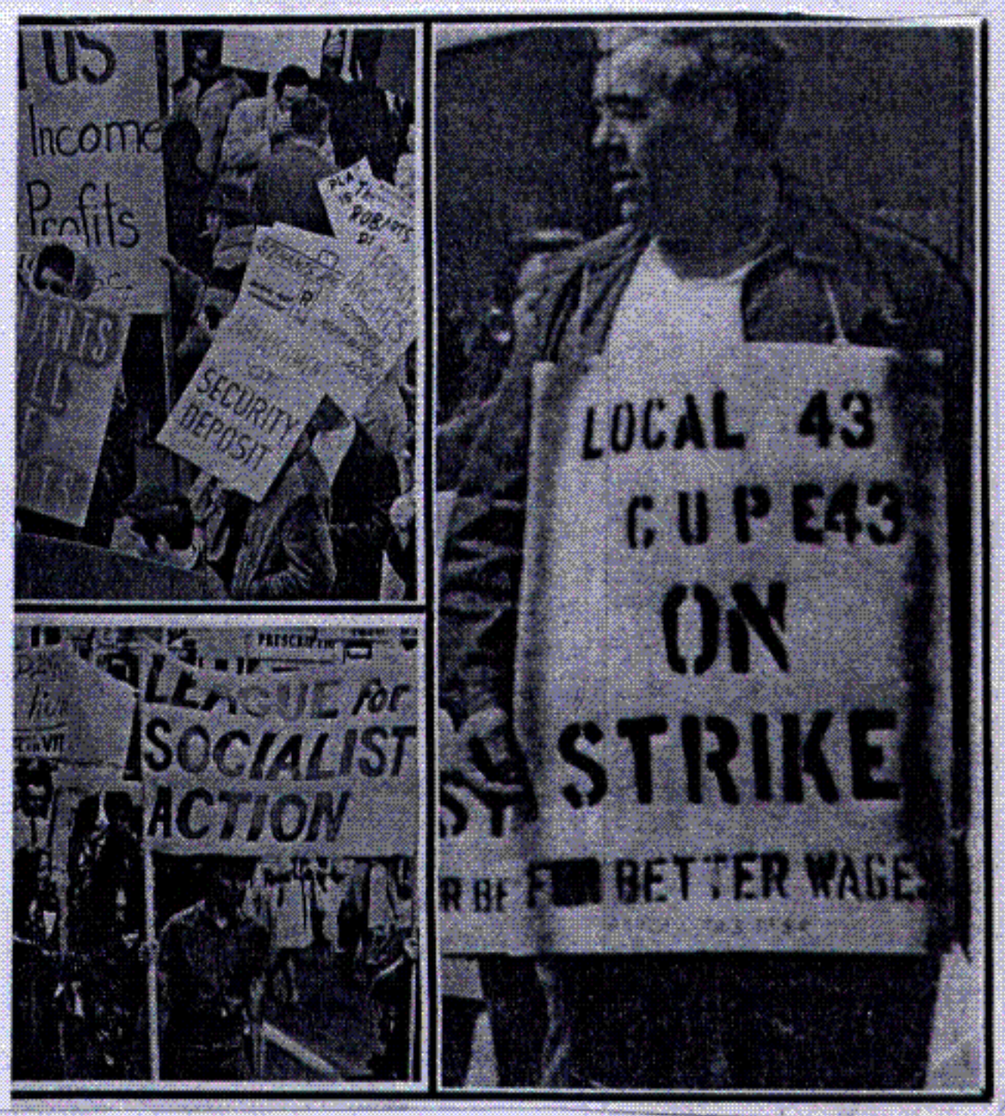
A socialist program for Toronto





Housing for People, Not Profits

Ninety-five percent of Metro residents can't afford to buy a house at current prices, according to a federal report. The result: a majority of Torontonians are now tenants. Yet apartment rents have risen 60 percent in the last 10 years — and developers project rent increases averaging close to 10 percent next year.

High rents and house prices result from big business control of the housing industry. Land speculators, developers, construction magnates and financial trusts have cornered the housing market, all stages of it — forcing up land prices and construction costs, restricting the housing supply in order to jack up rents.

NDP leader David Lewis has revealed that three corporations — Cadillac, Markborough and Bramalea — control between them 18,000 acres of the 19,600 acres officials say we need for construction of new housing in the next 10 years.

Housing is a basic social need, yet Toronto, one of the richest cities, has the worst housing shortage in Canada — and the highest rents.

Massive Public Housing

There is only one solution to the housing crisis — the city must break through with public housing, by building now the tens of thousands of new units we urgently need.

Only 3 percent of Metro housing is publicly owned — some 19,800 units. There are 16,000 names on the waiting list. The city cannot plead inability to pay; existing federal legislation promises to subsidize up to 90 percent of the cost of public housing construction.

The developers must be expropriated, and the private profiteers kicked out of city redevelopment! A sufficient stock of top quality public housing under tenant control must be built to force down all rents to no more than 20 percent of occupiers' net income. There must be full provision for child care centers, parks, recreational, shopping and service facilities.

End discrimination against women

Only one woman sat on the last council — a businesswoman. This is only one reflection of the discrimination women face in Toronto and throughout Canadian society. Women comprise one-third of Toronto's work force, but many are paid less than the minimum wage. The Ontario Human Rights Code is ignored by employers — even the city, Toronto's biggest employer, has been charged with discrimination for forcing women employees to retire five years before men.

Enforce the Human Rights Law. City Hall must institute the Ontario Federation of Labor's proposed $2.75 an hour minimum wage.

End all discrimination against women workers, starting with city employees, by electing a socialist administration!

There are only 21 municipal day care centers in all of Toronto. Thousands of children are on the waiting lists to get into these centers. Women are forced to pay exoribant rates to private companies — or else stay home. Only working women with children over two years old are eligible to use the few public centers that exist.

Free 24-hour child care centers for everyone wishing to use them, now!

City Council has opposed and harassed the movement for repeal of the anti-abortion laws. Last year beauty contests were given free use of City Hall Square and its sound system, while a rally for abortion law repeal was refused. The claim was that beauty contests are "in the public interest". Women protesting this discrimination were kicked out of the council chambers.

But Canada's abortion laws force hundreds of Toronto women to seek illegal abortions, while hundreds more must leave the country to get them. Still more are forced to bear children against their wishes.

City Hall must make all of its facilities available to the movement for women's rights. It must campaign for repeal of the anti-abortion laws.

City Hall must ensure that all Toronto hospitals offer safe, red-tape-free abortion facilities to all women. Council must extend the number of community clinics and authorize them to perform abortions.

For Tenants Rights

Tenants are subject to arbitrary rent increases, discrimination and substandard maintenance by profit-hungry landlords who violate even the city's existing minimal bylaws without penalty.

Enforce the laws ensuring decent standards in all rental accommodation! Legislation is needed to give tenants real power. Toronto should follow the example of British Columbia's new NDP government, which is giving tenants the right to bargain collectively with landlords and where necessary withhold rents to secure their rights. For tenants' management of the buildings they live in!

Free Public Transit

Popular protests succeeded in stopping construction of the Spadina Expressway. But this victory is threatened by the present council's attempts to reverse Queen's Park's veto. Council is also moving to extend the Gardiner (Lakeshore) expressway eastward, destroying hundreds of houses, ruining residential districts, creating more pollution, dislocation and traffic congestion.

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From page 1

Education is not a luxury — it is the **right** of everyone. Post-secondary education must be free. Students should receive a living wage, and society must guarantee employment to all in their chosen field. Free child care facilities must be provided to enable students with children to study.

Free education can be paid for by taxing the "corporate bums" now.

Women's Liberation

The schools must counteract society's discrimination against women by giving women special assistance and encouragement to enter all fields of study. Streaming must be stopped. For women's studies departments in all schools, controlled by women. Tell the truth about women in history courses. End segregation in sports and atheltics. Women teachers must have preference in hiring for administrative posts.

We demand sex education courses that teach science, not morality. Full and free birth control information and devices must be provided by the schools. The schools must provide facilities and assistance for students who desire abortions.

End the War in Vietnam

The schools must stop ignoring the world. For teach-ins and assemblies in all schools on the war in Vietnam and Canada's complicity in U.S. aggression. The facilities of the schools must be available to the antiwar movement, in particular to oppose the danger that Canadian troops will be sent to Vietnam. No war research in any high school, college or university!

advertisement

WE TAKE SIDES

The daily papers claim to be "impartial" — they claim they just report the news. But when workers strike for decent pay and living conditions, the papers oppose them. When women march for equality or students demand democracy in the schools, the papers ignore them or distort their views. When socialists enter civic elections, the Globe, the Star and the Sun deny them fair coverage.

Labor Challenge and **Young Socialist** don't pretend to be impartial. We take sides. Against the corporations we support the unions, the abortion law repeal movement, the campaigns of students, antiwar activists, socialists — all those who are working to end control of Canada and the world by the corporate welfare bums.

Subscribe now!

Subscribe to **Labor Challenge** and **Young Socialist**, Canada's leading socialist newspapers.

Labor Challenge — twice monthly — $4.00 year (3 months introductory subscription — $1.00). Box 5595, Station A, Toronto.

Young Socialist — monthly — $1.00 year, Box 517, Station A, Toronto.

The hundreds of millions of dollars in public funds now spent on expressways — which goes in the last analysis to auto manufacturers, land speculators and construction consortiums — should instead be spent on a vast expansion of public transit systems. We need an accelerated program of construction of subways and other forms of public transit.

Periodic fare increases only serve to cut down the number of people using the TTC and further increase traffic congestion. Fares should be abolished and transit financed out of general revenues like water, roads and parks. Abolition of TTC fares need involve no extra overall cost; the city has in its files a specialist's report predicting tremendous savings in costs.

Ellie Kirzner Alderwoman Ward 8

Ellie Kirzner, 25, is a graduate student in Sociology at University of Toronto. She is a member of the League for Socialist Action and an activist in the women's liberation movement. In 1968, Ellie visited Cuba as a guest of the Cuban government, and on her return lectured on the achievements of the revolution. In 1969 she was Young Socialist candidate for Board of Education in Ward 8.

Darrel Furlotte Alderman Ward 4

Darrel Furlotte, 31, has been an active socialist since moving to Toronto from the Maritimes nine years ago. In 1966 he was a founding member of the University of Toronto Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Last year, as a member of the Ontario Teachers' Federation, Furlotte was active in the campaign against cutbacks in education spending. He has a B.A. in Economics and a Bachelor of Education degree, but, like half a million other Canadians, he is unemployed. He is an organizer of the East Metro branch of the Toronto League for Socialist Action.

Human Rights, Not Property Rights

City council not only turns a deaf ear to anti-developer protests, but continues to refuse us basic democratic rights. Department stores are allowed to shut down Yonge Street for the Santa Claus parade, but the Vietnam Mobilization Committee is refused a permit to protest the brutal U.S. war of aggression in Indochina.

The cops are given the use of Civic Square for their annual Miss Toronto sexploitation pageant, but the Women's Coalition for Repeal of Abortion Laws is denied the right to use the same facilities to speak out for women's right to control their own bodies through repeal of restrictions on abortion.

Toronto police continue to harass picket-lines, Black people, homosexuals, immigrants and ethnic minorities. Salespeople for the "underground" press are hassled repeatedly. The police "riot squad," used to smash strikes, has been doubled in size since 1970, while the cops tolerate continued right-wing harassment of left-wing bookstores and threats to disrupt public meetings. Trade unions have discovered police officers participating in wiretapping for professional strike-breakers. Metro police admit to carrying out over 200 wiretaps last year alone.

Elect the Police Commission

As long as cops are armed, citizens will be threatened by police violence such as the tragic police killing of Angelo Nobrega, an immigrant from Portugal.

The police commission, now composed in majority of appointed members of the police and judiciary, must be placed under control of the public through direct election of its members.

Disband the special repressive forces!

Disarm the police!

There are nearly 100 boards and commissions which run our city, filled with the hacks and hangers-on of the big business machine. It's time to totally reconstruct civic administration, based on genuine representatives of Toronto's working people. A small beginning would be the popular election of the Metro Chairman.

Tax the Greedy, Not the Needy

Public housing, free public transit, 24-hour child care . . . Where will the money come from, ask the spokesmen for big business.

Housing and transit can pay for themselves, financed out of general revenues when balanced against the lesser social costs on welfare payments, roads maintenance, etc. which would result.

But in addition, there are many other sources of funds.

For instance, while tenants and homeowners suffer an unbearable and rising tax burden, one-third of the city's assessment goes tax exempt, depriving the city of at least a half-billion dollars — a massive ripoff of ratepayers and tenants by businesses and institutions which, in so many other ways, feed from the trough of public expenditures. The Catholic Church alone boasts properties worth $50 million dollars in Toronto; these are all tax-free.

Tax exemptions for non-residential properties must be ended. The burden of taxation must be transferred from residents to business and industry. The city must stop trading off valuable land at bargain basement prices to developers and businesses. An alderman estimates the city is losing $56 million on the Metro Center land swap with the railways. For a municipal capital gains tax to eliminate profit from land speculation!

Public Ownership of Bell Telephone

Bell Telephone is now seeking another rate increase, the fourth since 1969. The solution is so obvious even Mayor Dennison has advanced it: public ownership of the telephone system, to provide service at cost. Consumers Gas, too, should be placed under public ownership. Any surplus resulting from these public utilities could be used to help finance much-needed social services like abortion clinics and child-care centers.

A municipally-owned public sector can be used as a powerful instrument to plan development in the interests of working people, not the profiteers.

Expanded Medicare

Toronto is large enough to start its own subsidized low-fee medicare program, operating under OHSIP, to fully meet our needs at lowest cost. A municipal medicare program would include prescription drugs as well as dental and optical care not covered under the provincial plan.

labor Challenge #68 Nov 1972

Socialist in Ottawa mayoralty race

by ELAINE BERNARD

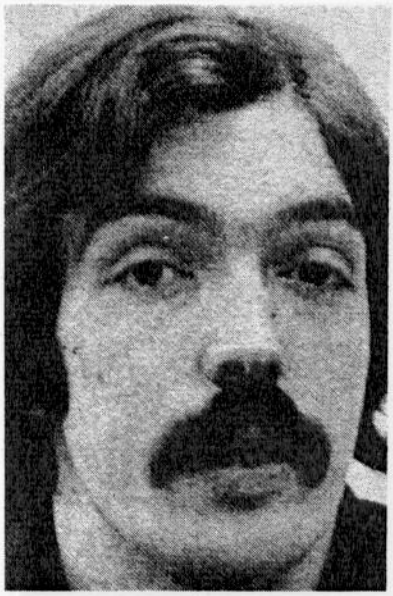
OTTAWA, Nov. 11 — "There are many problems in Ottawa crying out for solutions. Number one is the terrible housing shortage. Medical care is inadequate. Planning is anarchic and the people are not consulted. The demands of women for child care and equal pay are not being met. Franco-Ontarien language demands are not being fulfilled. These problems are pushing more and more unionists, tenants, women, students, teachers, Franco-Ontariens and poor people to fight for control of City Hall."

That was the challenge posed by Jack Ridout, socialist candidate for mayor of Ottawa at the opening campaign rally last night.

Ridout is running due to the failure of the NDP to offer a working class alternative on the municipal plane. At the campaign rally, Ridout challenged Eileen Scotton to run on the NDP label and use her influence to put up a full NDP slate. Scotton is presently chairwoman of the Board of Education, and is running as an individual for Board of Control.

"We in the League for Socialist Action," said Ridout in launching his campaign, "are entering the mayoralty campaign in order to fill the vacuum that is left by the NDP in relinquishing its duty and responsibility."

Ridout pointed out that the National Capital Commission is out to integrate the city of Hull, Quebec (across the river from Ottawa) into a federal district, thus "annexing part of Quebec into English Canada." Ridout called for an end to all plans to integrate Ottawa and Hull and for the abolition of the NCC.



OTTAWA MAYORALTY CANDIDATE. Jack Ridout.

According to government statistics, Ridout said, "Ottawa's housing situation is the worst in the country. The only solution to this crisis is a massive program of publicly-owned housing under tenant control, with rents not to exceed 20 percent of income. The city must enforce the housing standards bylaw by expropriating all substandard housing. Tenant committees should be recognized by City Hall as legitimate collective bargaining units."

In dealing with discrimination against women Ridout called for the establishment of community clinics to include facilities for abortions, free 24-hour child care centers, full maternity leave with no loss in seniority or take home pay, and the institution of promotional quotas for women in the civil service. He further pledged full moral and material support to the movement to repeal the anti-abortion laws.

The antilabor stance of City Hall was also attacked. "In the summer of 1971 City Hall supported the bosses in the garbage strike. A labor City Hall would foster trade unionism, and support the right to strike and political rights for civil servants. The municipal civil service should be an example to the federal civil service and to all employers."

One of the first public actions of the campaign was the participation of socialist campaign supporters in a demonstration against the Defense Research Board, a federal government body that designs and tests weaponry for U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The demonstration, sponsored by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, picketed a DRB reception at the Uplands Armed Forces base Nov. 10.

In endorsing the Ridout candidacy on behalf of the YS, Ottawa Young Socialist organizer Elaine Bernard told yesterday's campaign rally: "We know that the problems of Ottawa are not simply confined to the city limits, but are provincial, federal and even international in scope. The problems of Ottawa cannot be solved exclusively in City Hall. But a socialist labor government in City Hall would be a big step forward and give a giant impetus to the fight for socialism in Canada and around the world."

A message from Dave Porter, the 1969 League for Socialist Action mayoralty candidate, was read to the rally: "In that campaign, Ottawa electors had for the first time the opportunity to vote for a labor socialist alternative. A total of 2,340 people voted socialist and many thousands heard our views for the first time. I fully expect this campaign to have an even greater impact in exposing big business control of City Hall, and posing the necessity for the NDP to run a full slate."

The socialist campaign headquarters in Ottawa is located at 418 Somerset St. West, No. 1. The telephone number is 232-2171.

labor Challenge

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Editorial

Opportunities for NDP

Having made important gains in the Oct. 30 federal election, the NDP now holds the balance of power in the House of Commons. It is in a position to combine its votes with the Conservatives to defeat the Trudeau government and bring about another election.

This presents big opportunities for the NDP to advance its program, win concessions for the Canadian working people, and present itself as a viable alternative in the next election.

NDP leader David Lewis has posed a "minimum program" — a set of conditions for maintaining the Liberal government in power. These include: cuts in personal income tax; an increase in old age pensions; massive spending to help offset winter unemployment; action to stop increases in the cost of living; an investigation into inefficiencies in the unemployment insurance program; and a reform of election spending laws. Lewis has stated that he will support either a Conservative or Liberal government on this basis.

These proposals have a good deal of merit, although they are undefined. But there are a number of other questions that the NDP must deal with in its parliamentary strategy. These include: opposition to any further Canadian intervention, including the use of Canadian "peacekeeping" troops in Indochina; identification with the struggles of women, Quebecois, Natives, students and others, and opposition to any attempt by the government to institute anti-labor legislation or any form of wage controls.

Lewis's expose of the "Corporate Welfare Bums" must be continued in Parliament, developing and popularizing a clear socialist program, that can present the NDP in distinction to the parties of big business.

The NDP has everything to gain from intransigence, and nothing to gain from any accommodation with the Liberals or Conservatives. Proposals for a coalition government or an "arrangement" with one of the big business parties, emanating from such sources as former Ontario deputy leader Walter Pitman and the editors of the Toronto Star, must be rejected. They are self-defeating. Such a strategy would make the NDP appear to be no different from the Liberals or Tories in the eyes of Canadian working people.

The NDP must press its demands forward with no fear of another election. If one or the other capitalist party accepts the NDP positions, well and good. And if NDP intransigence force the Liberals and Tories to support each other, then the NDP will have shown itself as the alternative.

Toronto civic election

This issue of Labor Challenge reprints the main leaflet of the socialist campaign of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists in the Dec. 4 Toronto civic election. We are sure this will be of great interest to our readers.

The failure of the NDP to run a full slate in this election has prompted the LSA and the YS to put forward their own candidates, to pose the socialist labor alternative for Toronto workers. The Ottawa LSA is running a similar campaign (reported elsewhere in this issue). These campaigns should spur the NDP in cities across the country to follow up on the initiative of the NDP slates in Vancouver and Regina, and pose a challenge to big-business dominated municipal politics.

labor Challenge #68 Nov 1972

Quebec students fight government repression

by RICHARD THOMPSON

QUEBEC CITY, Nov. 12 — Student militants from across Quebec gathered here this weekend to organize against new government regulations for the CEGEPs (community colleges). The meeting of some 200 delegates and observers of the Front Etudiant du Quebec (Quebec Student Front) had already been preceded by mass meetings and days of study involving thousands of CEGEP students across Quebec.

The new "Regime Pedagogique" proposes to increase the time spent in class to 45 hours a week and to give administrators new powers to deal with student militants. Under these regulations the administration would be able to expel all students ('for grave reasons') and force them to re-register individually. This discriminatory rule is designed to weed out student militants and crush student struggles. The administrations have already attempted to use this method but in two recent cases, students at Vieux-Montreal and Rosemont succeeded in preventing it by court injunctions.

Another regulation would require students who fail a year to register as part-time students, which requires them to pay tuition (full-time students pay no tuition). It was justified by the Director General of Colleges as a means to keep student "parasites" out of the CEGEPs.

Among other things the extension of hours would prevent students who must now work part time from continuing their studies. As the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Young Socialists) proposal to the FEQ stated, this will "put at a disadvantage those who already have difficulty financing their studies, that is the underprivileged, the workers and women." The LJS proposal pointed out that the Bourassa government increased its education budget less than one percent this year compared to 14 percent last year! These regulations stem from the generalized cutbacks in capitalist countries, said the LJS, and these cutbacks are even more pronounced in Quebec, an oppressed nation.

Reports on activities in each CEGEP showed a growing opposition to the new regulations. At the same time the FEQ is in a good position to lead this opposition into a massive struggle against the regulations. It was firmly established in last spring's struggle against the "82 day norm" (a proposed 82-day extension of the school year supposedly to make up time lost when teachers participated in the massive public sector strike in April). Since then there have been continued struggles by CEGEP students such as the upsurge at Saint-Hyacinthe to protest the firing of a professor for her "insubordination". Another factor strengthening the FEQ is the increasing solidarity between English and French students based on the growing support of English students for the national rights of the Quebecois.

The delegates voted overwhelmingly for a motion to "categorically reject" the new regulations and adopted a comprehensive plan of actions: a Quebec-wide petition, days of study in each college, a general strike of all CEGEPs by Dec. 1, and the LJS proposal for a centralized mass demonstration set for mid-December when the College directors are scheduled to meet.

LJS members attending the conference sold over $35.00 of revolutionary literature and received several requests to speak at CEGEPs around Quebec. Delegates from one English CEGEP asked to translate the LJS leaflet for mass distribution at their college.

labor Challenge #68 Nov 1972

Escaped from regime's jail

Interview with Greek Trotskyist

The following interview with Theologos Psaradelles, a member of the KDKE (Kommounistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados — Internationalist Communist party of Greece), Greek section of the Fourth International, appeared in the September 30 issue of the French revolutionary-socialist weekly Rouge. Psaradelles had just arrived in France shortly after escaping for the third time from Greek jails. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

Question. In the years before coming to Paris, you have gone through quite a bit. Could you briefly tell us about it?

Answer. The Greek police arrested me for the first time in 1967. I was tortured, but released for lack of evidence. The second time, in May 1969, they had evidence. After being beaten for days on end, I was back in a neighborhood police station. Actually, escape was not really very difficult. After getting hold of a little money, I took the boat to Mytilene. From there I got to Turkey on a stolen boat by rowing for eighteen hours.

The political asylum granted by the Turkish authorities meant living under surveillance in an isolated spot 300 kilometers east of Ankara. I escaped twice with the idea of going to Bulgaria and, if everything went all right, to Western Europe. The first time I was caught a few kilometers from the border. The second time I succeeded and turned myself in at the first Bulgarian outpost.

After being transferred from prison to prison, I was interrogated at great length. Without telling them that I was a member of the Fourth International, I asked them to let me go to Western Europe if they did not want to keep me. Their answer came on the train that was apparently supposed to be bringing me back to Turkey when I saw Greek policemen get on board. At that point, I jumped from the train and walked and ran for forty kilometers in a freezing rain. But since I have rheumatism, and since the border area with Greece is tightly controlled (the people who live there belong to paramilitary organizations), I was finally arrested, and shortly afterward, sent to Athens.

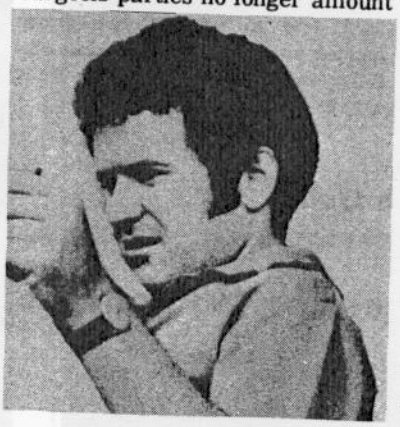
Q. What is the situation facing our Greek comrades?

A. The dictatorship hit our organization very hard and, in spite of the real growth we experienced during the sixties, we were neither numerically strong enough nor politically mature enough to resist. And so, a sizable split occurred just after the coup d'etat, and a large number of our members left to get involved in violent activities — without attempting to consolidate the organization — and allied themselves with the centrists and the activists of the EDA (Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras — Union of the Democratic Left, legal form of the Greek Communist party prior to the coup). They were convinced that their actions would bring down the regime.

The main tasks for the comrades who, like me, remained in the section was to reorganize our forces and to sink roots in the masses.

Q. Where do things stand with the political forces on the Greek left?

A. All the political forces in Greek society were completely shaken up by the dictatorship. The pre-1967 bourgeois parties no longer amount to anything, and yesterday's "liberals" are today carrying on a dialogue with the regime. The Greek Communist party has split and lost all credibility. The only ones who in the fianl analysis have been able — even though weakened numerically — to survive politically are the Trotskyists.



Theologos Psaradelles

In the aftermath of the April 21 coup, because of the crisis of both bourgeois liberalism and Stalinist reformism, the dominant tendency on the Greek left has become the spontaneist organizations that hoped to mobilize the masses through terrorist activity.

Today this tendency is in retreat, not only because of its inability to resolve the unprecedented crisis of leadership in the working class through its methods, but also, paradoxically, because of the beginning signs of mobilizations, which present the vanguard with problems of a much more precise character.

Q. What tasks confront the vanguard in the present situation in Greece?

A. The political crisis unquestionably persists — and with it the inability of the dictatorship to gain a popular base. Indeed, the dictatorship is unable, without undermining its very existence, to satisfy even the slightest economic and political demands of the workers or to grant political freedoms to the masses.

Recently, in April and May, mobilizations took place at the university. They were, in fact, only the first after a long period during which the masses took no part in politics, and they will not be the last.

In view of the decomposition of the Greek Communist party, more and more newly radicalized young militants are being drawn toward revolutionary Marxism. Our comrades, by taking advantage of the growing radicalization among Greek youth and by preparing for coming struggles, are actively working to build the Greek section of the Fourth International.

Dec. 3/ 1972.

REPORT ON TWO WAFFLE-MISC EDUCATIONAL FORUMS, Nov. 26 and Dec. 3;

I attended two meetings this week and last, held by the Waffle at the international Student Centre on St. George. These were not membership meetings which I understand are held at other times, but part of the four lecture series of educational forums Waffle is now holding.

The lecture last Sunday was by John Hutcheson of York U. dealing with Socialist Economics and Incomes Policies or something approximating that subject. It was a basic introduction to Marxist economics counterposing the socialist explanation of wages and wage-rates to the capitalist version. It was historical in its approach, outlining the development of the capitalist attitude and policies on the question up until today. This meeting was attended by about 50 persons, mostly students as well as Wafflers with whom we are familiar. Unfortunately, no one other than myself was present from the League.

Tonights lecture was by QFL's Andre Leclerc, invited from Quebec, on the Quebec labor movement. This was a talk on the history of the Labor movement in Quebec from its inception; the developments of the sixties; the rise of nationalism in recent years in the trade unions; and the recent turning toward socialism among the workers and the union movement as a whole. This meeting was attended by 75 or 80 persons, a couple of whom I noticed also attend our forums. Questions were on socialism and the labor movement; the BQ (w ich leclerc had go e into, terming it 'bourgeois" but describing its contradictory character ...); on the character of the recent strike; plus others which I left too early to hear discussed.

It seems our assessment of the Waffle has been inaccurate. We are not even aware of what's going on, what they're saying. It seems clear to me by these meetings that, while the Waffle-MISC is certainly nationalist, it is developing into a structured socialist current with some attraction, a rival socialist current. It seems clear that it hasn't abandoned class politics to any extent of the imagination. Nor has its Canadian nationalism led it to oppose Quebec's self-determination and the struggle for socialism in that nation.

We need more accurate reporting on Waffle-MISC.

Zane Boyd. (to the P.C.)

December 8.1972

I have read the draft of the introductory 34 pages to the Political Resolution.

I have extensive comments

However there is a problem--quite a serious one.
for an extended period
The evening following my first long and fraternal discussion with anyone of you--with John R--ended up in a real polarization of forces in the Toronto East branch. There particularly Phil and above all John R took me on. When Mitchell held out a compromise it was rudely rejected. The leadership took this question right to the wall--and it is hard to believe that they did not sense they would be defeated if they did so. All in all for me an unbelievable performance.

I have not heard so much as a word from any leading comrade on my contribution in bulletin 18.

The question is posed then---do we have war or peace---to the knife of attenuated collaboration.

I have told you all along as to my understanding I have conducted myself all along---for peace--for collaboration. Political differences as they have revealed themselves in writing for the first time in Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism to be discussed on a comradely political plane. How are you going to react to my contribution--a comradely one in my opinion? That is a good question after Tuesday branch meeting and the failure of John R to even intimate it just 24 hours earlier.

If it is war--then explain to me the areas of collaboration if any-do we can work something out. If war --why should I work on your defenses.

comradely

Ross

Got a phone call that the bureau would like to meet me tomorrow-Sometime - from Gary

Dec 8/72

I have read this thro again

John's explanation that some prevy to the Bell telephone tap of his and my Paris Toronto discussion on all the Intl leadership coming to the Cdn Congress - is not adequate

Some one inside our movement who might be prevy OK — but it seems to me on casual reading Someone in our movement.

Doesn't have an RCMP/Bring but almost a genuine concern one — if RCMP - very clever —

of course mailing them all to 33 of us quite incredible

I told comrades in East Bk meet Dec 5 that it was RCMP as John R suggested - well - OK

Sent to Dennis 334 Queen Ave C Dec 8/72

"LOYALTY TO THE INTERNATIONAL MEANS ABOVE ALL IN PRACTICE LOYALTY TO ITS CANADIAN SECTION"

Comrade, the above statement was made in 1971 by John Riddell. His words imply that our loyalty to the Fourth International is secondary to our allegiance to our national movement, a very firm and decisive gesture on his part. And yet, for one so demonstrably dedicated to our cause in the past, certain of comrade Riddell's more recent actions raise questions in the minds of the writers as to the true direction in which his sympathies lie. We make no accusations, but simply express our curiosity and concern over these actions, hoping that we will elicit a satisfactory response. We consider it incumbent upon all of us to demand frank and honest answers to these very serious questions, so that we may truly know the man who will determine our future in the days ahead.

Comrade Riddell, as our representative to the United Secretariat, could you please explain your conspicuous silence, during a time when we and our American comrades have been bitterly assailed on all sides by the majority of the International, including members of the United Secretariat itself, over the issues surrounding the rash and adventuristic acts of the Latin American comrades?

Why did you stand by and allow this criticism to encourage the divisive and reactionary activities of the Tendency, activities which no doubt played a large role in prompting comrade Dowson, a man who had devoted his entire life to the movement, to resign?

What are your true views on the question of armed struggle in revolutionary doctrine, bearing in mind the obvious implications of your silence on this issue?

Why have you neglected to make these views known to us and to those ultra-leftists who would destroy everything which we have attempted to build over the years?

Did you play a hand in an alleged invitation to prominent members of the United Secretariat to attend our National Convention?

What purpose would their presence serve? Perhaps you hope it would be interpreted as a sign of international solidarity on your behalf in order to buttress your position.

How would you reconcile the support of this group, which has actively criticized us and encouraged dissent in our ranks, with the true interests of the Canadian section?

How do you explain a remark made recently in which you flatly accused comrade Dowson of attempting to destroy the movement by using obstructionist tactics?

What are your views on freedom of discussion within the movement, particularly in light of your outburst during a disagreement with a comrade over what those privy to the conversation considered to be a rather nonsensical point? Do you feel that telling someone that if he insisted on disagreeing he could "get out" of the movement is consistent with the democratic principles which are a cornerstone of our philosophy?

In view of your well known close relationship with the IMG, what are your views on its encroachment in our affairs through its active support for the Tendency?

AND NOW, HERE ARE SOME QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION BY ALL COMRADES!

Would it not be to the advantage of the majority of the International to have placed in power in Canada a man considered sympathetic to their views on revolutionary strategy?

Does a person with a sense of loyalty remain silent when one who has supported him, and indeed nominated him as his successor, is criticized and abused?

Does a man of reason violently and irrationally assail one who dares to question his views?

Does a courageous person allow his colleagues to be belittled and chastised without coming to their defence?

Does a true Trotskyist allow his principles to be perverted by a gaggle of opportunistic revisionists?

COMRADE, WE IMPLORE YOU TO JOIN WITH US IN DEMANDING ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS, AND MANY OTHERS WHICH PLAGUE THE WRITERS' MINDS, BEFORE WE DECIDE IN WHOM WE ARE GOING TO ENTRUST THE FUTURE OF OUR MOVEMENT IN CANADA. TO THOSE WHO DOUBT THE INTENTION OF THIS DOCUMENT WE SAY, WHAT DOES COMRADE RIDDELL HAVE TO FEAR FROM QUESTIONS TO WHICH HE MAY REPLY HONESTLY AND OPENLY? IF HIS ANSWERS ALLAY OUR FEARS, SO MUCH THE BETTER. BUT WE CONSIDER THE IMPLICATIONS IN HIS ACTIONS TOO SERIOUS TO BE IGNORED. NEVER FEAR THE TRUTH COMRADES, FOR IT IS BY OUR ADHERENCE TO THE TRUTH THAT WE WILL ONE DAY REALIZE OUR GOAL!

December 11, 1972

To the bureau (although looking back at it this note should be to the PC)

Yesterday following Art's report on the IEC meeting I handed him a note that "I think that the report by Art had a strong factional character, too strong a factional character I actually put it. I asked "why did you say that concepts in the European document have surfaced in the Canadian movement."

Thinking it over I am not satisfied that I made some record of some kind which ~~did not~~ did not get a receptive response from Art and a few comrades around him.

I have for sometime now protested against a tendency that I have seen in our leadership to handle the tendency, and particularly Stue who is on the PC in an extremely harsh and factional way. I have expressed the opinion many times that the tendency (the RCT) is an unprincipled group in our league--that it contains diverse elemen s and that in my opinion it is actuauly larger than the support of whatever politics it has actually would warrant and that we should have, actually, have a very good possibility to whittle it down substantially until it gets to its hard sectarian core.

The very clear implication of Art's report is that the RCT belongs with the majority in the world movement....that the European document is actually the viewpoint of the RCT and they should grasp it as theirs--- Coming out of that PC meeting that should be the orientation of the leading comrades when they come to take this question into the branches and other bodies where they are active. I take it for granted that that is not our position in Europe--that we are going to try and chip away European comrades from support of that document. Why would we have a different line in our own movement.

Speaking for myself I am going to try to convince as many comrades as possible who have so far supported the tendency and who might in the future tend to support it that they really have nothing in common with the international majorities position on Bolivia, Argentina the Latin American strategy and on Europe. I hope that you agree and will immediately see to it that all comrades who were at that meeting yesterday will follow that line. We do not know what the tendency position is on the European document--we hope that in the light of all the other questions beocimng clarified and that too that this tendency will break up or if this is impossible that it will be pared down to an essential hard core sectrain operation that has no danger whtsoever of cuasing us to lose anything at all that has any possibilties for the Canad an revolution

comradely

Ross Dowson

December 12, 1972

To the bureau

I would like you to discuss the matter of my being asked to leave the hall where a meeting of the West Toronto branch of the LSA-LSO was taking place on December 11. Not only discuss the incident but inform me of your opinion and what if any action you mmghmk consider taking.

I understand that a motion of some character was passed that members of other Toron to branches cannot sit in on meetings of the West Toronto branch. If such a te dency developed in the Toronto area I would t ink we would have to consider defining some policy. However last nite that rule was brought into action against myself.and under most unusaul circumstances

It is of course true that I am not a member of the West branch . I have never followed a policy of moving arou d other branch meetings. In fact I only came down to that meeting at ten o clock at night--probably half an hour before it was slated to adjourn. Two leading comrades of that branch and a member of its executive asked me the nite before if I could and would drop in to hear his report on the NDP c nvention of last weekend . I said I would and arranged to have a comrade tell me when that item came up for discussion. When I came in I took some money from the Vanguard book display that I had set up for the branch fully intending after the meeting to go into the store t open it so that comrades could take advantage of the Christmas sale that I had announced that day. I was told to leave by the chair as I had moved back well out of the meeting to stand by the piano.

I did not challenge the chair although I felt it essentail to do so as I knew that it would disrupt the meeting and besides there were three or four leading comrades-members of the EC-PC in attendance--including the organizational secretary. They ob viously had not seen anything wrong with this motion.

The problem is I am not just a member of another branch I am the chairman of the pan-Canadian LSA/LSO and I might ad a member of the executive committee of the Fourth International. It seems quite clear to me that it is intolerable to us as Trotskyists that a branch could pass a motion t at would bar a leading member of our pan-Canadian movement from its meetings on such a general basis to say the least. I would ask--is John S-metro organizer now to face the possibility that he will not be allowed to attend or sit in on xxxxp a meeting of the West Toronto or North T branches of the Toronto LSA xxxxxxx either all of the meetings or parts of them without special permission . And what about the organizational secretary of our pan-Canadian movement who happens to be a memb er of the West Branch. Are other branches across the country to consider as to whether comrade Porter can attend their meetings.

I raised the matter of the post I hold in the FI because when in Europe I was invited to attend all kinds of meetings of our various sections, many of them deali g with what they knew to be differences that I happened to hold with them-xxxxxx I was welcomed provided with translators ete etc.

The information that the specific comradex wanted me to have by sitting in the back of the meeting for a few minutes I can of course obtain other ways. As I informed comrade Riddell that comrade has invited me to his home where another leading member of that branch will be to have xxxxx supper and an informal discussion probably on the very same matter. I prefer of course to hear such matters in the normal work of the movement--and certainly do not seek to have what might be thought to be agents in the movement of which I am rpoud to be a member. However such bars would also tend to result in creating such an unfortunate atmosphere.

I think what happened at the West branch set a very bad precedent and you must take action to niform that brnnch and any other portion of the movement who might hear of it--regretabbly a member of the IMG was there as a guest to see the chairman tossed out

Comradez Ross D

Dec 13, 1972

It is now necessary to stop and try to assess where the struggle tearing the movement is going.

Last night's meeting East End LSA Toronto showed that not only is the leadership not prepared to back off ~~itx~~ from its positions but that it is going to ever more wildly distort, and ~~decieve~~ the membership of what the issues are that are in dispute.

All three George, John R and Phil's contributions were outrageously demagogic.--so much so--such a disappointment to me that I could not restrain myself. I see that up until now I have been really addressing myself to them and that is truly the source of my great exapseration. I have now, after last night no longer any purpose in doing that--not unless there is a really big sudden blow out...and they start to sort out. There is so far not the slightest sign of that. On the other hand the dissatisfaction amongst the comrades at least here in Toronto continues to widen. Last night at Wayne-and Ellie's for supper I had an opportunity to talk to Bob S and also Marv. Marv appears to have almost finished a document that instead of criticizing this leadership for its gross inability to apply our line on the NDP is taking on the line itself---our fundamental document that I wrote in 1970 and Dick's plenum document on Waffle. I hope that I have convinced him that our line is correct, it's has been this leaderships incompetence--I told him that it is necessary since we seem to have agreement on the Canada-US document that we not widen but narrow the differences and above all not get disoriented into incorrectly understanding ~~thexxxxxx~~ what the real differences are. Ellie appears to agree with me against Marv but I really do not know if I have really convinced him. On Friday Wayne is coming over. I am trying to get him to make a contribution on nationlaism in Canada--however I am not too sure that he has a correct view on this. Just before he left he showed me a resolution that he and comrades argued against in the NDP constituency. My general impression was that the resol urion is not half bad. We will pursue this.

Skmomor's contribution to the discussion was really excellent. He showed how the PC majority in giving priority to the state over the economic question are doing precisely what the Schatchmanites did in the dispute with Trotsky. He reported how Novack told him that this is a clear and basic revision of Marxism, he showed how the Canadian bourgeoisie even capitulated before Kennedy on the Time-Readers Digest advertising rates. He reported the response in his class to the former Cdn ambassador to the US on Cdn nationalism and then he gave a report on the MISC meeting which did not show by any means that natilnaism leads to the bourgeoisie--Laxer all with us but not the time to actually build the vanguard --they appear to be in the process of presenting us the formidable challenge of a centrist political formation. Laxer characterized himself as a revolutionary socialist.

All this failed to cause a ripple among the leadership.

The pressure is now building up against my line ~~to~~ not struggle for a new leadership, to play it cool in anticipation that there is something to be saved. Alas there is not the slightest sign--I gather Dennis is for structuring a tendency if not a faction..

We got the convention postponed but the doucmentation is too slow--perhaps I am going about this altogether too systematically-- finish off the economics--then the state then imperialism etc etc. The leaderships thrashing about and the lack of our documentation probably ~~heat~~s the situation.

We have a leadership that has no real authority in the movement, that is a clique and an imcompetent one at that--blindly heading towards a convention.

We are in the process of negotaitioning a unification with a group who are obviously well within the basic concepts of Trotskyism who the leadership is very nervous about as well as ~~they may be~~ who comrades like Peter and the tendency are hell bent on fuzing with

Then you have the RCT an umprincipled combination but with a hard core who are generally ultra left and are now in the process of firming up probably and casting aside some of their most absurd concepts to join with the international majority. Then you have Dennis, Lynda and I who have the syampathy and support of the older more experienced comrades --pretty well except for Vern O. Regardless of the other documents--then the ~~PR~~ PR Resolution which they might while writing Cda-US into it do it in such an equivocle way--I think the Canada Crisis of World Imperialism will remain the central issue at debate. However it is a little early to see what impact the RCT armed with the international majority support will get across the movement.

Perhaps the next real insight we will get to the situation is the youth convention.

The RCT will have the Winnipeg bloc and Halifax-Fredericton

2)December 13, 1972

The other day,starting off from the premise that what we had in this leaderships was adaptation to ultra leftist pressure ,Bea wanted me to show that tendency in the Canada-US document. Itx I told herx that I could if I wanted to but this was quite incorrect--that wexx were not dealing with ultra lefts,we were deaing with a leadership which was extremely weak politically, confused,with a tendency to be dogmatic and on the search for dogma to hold onto,but was above all guilty of clique politics. My impression is that we do not have much in the Cannon-Dobbs material on clique leaderships . For one thing in the Marxist movement they would tend to be only transitory--that is in the braod stream of the movement. Probably the various Trotskyist sects over the years have had that character--the LRWP, in Canada, the Grant group in Britain etc. In the mainstream they would tend to within a relatively short period break up, having arisen for rather unique reasons. This is the leadership which came forward-all very reluctantly, over the years of my efforts to build a team leadership. They became a clique, during my absence in Europe when they made some grevious errors whuch revealed themselves at the Dec 1969-Jan 1970 YS-LJS convention. At that convention the entire youth leadership collpased--involving Jacquie, Joe Y, John R, Kate A,Colleen etc. Then we had the collapse when I was in Europe in the Spring 1971---that involved everyone of them including John S--everyone of them except Dennis L who triad to grapple with it in his document. Then we had the coallpse this Spring when I forced them to grapple with the convention documentation. These collpases,then their inability to come to an understanding of them except as it began to reveal through John R, Jacquie and John S that there was something wrong about my leadership that left them without any fundatmental principles from which to move out ,firmed up a clique. When they xxxxxxxxx commenced to question the whole methodology of the past(in an attempt to understand or justify their own collapse) they blocked any possibility of leadership transfer. What had I to pass on, what was worthwhile in the past of the movement ! This all exploded into the August plenum and clearly articulated best of all by Bonnie who querried them as to the validity of the Women's Liberation document which they had still held onto while dumping all the rest--and later by Stue who congratulated the for the Canada-US document and asked them to keep on going--dump the abortion and anti-war sentiment line too.

No leadership transfer---how could there be in the face of their wholesale revisionism --their own knowledge of their political inadequacy, the multi-now pressures on them has driven them into a self-supporting clique--a leadership that can only stand up if they lean on one another and is in constant danger of collapse if one or other coallpses and brings this leaning structure down on its ass.

As their difficulties increase, the sands in which their feet are planted shift and their angle of erection gets lower they appear to be ever more in a death grip lock ever less able for anyone of them to extricate herself from the others

The problem of leadership confronting the Canadian section is horrendously acute. Dowson is pulling back, isn't prepared it would seem to start all over again--at least in the old way. The leadership we have, the fruitfruit of almost ten years of struggle is a wash-out--as thing now are it looks like almost nothing will be saved. How to start again. This pre-convention discussion could hopefully throw up some new elements. But how are they to coalesce..that is a question.

The RCT will be firming up now with the international majorities help. Then we have the Montreal Mill group--a break away,and the Red Circle -anrapproaching phenomena Then there is the LSA-LSO clique leadership that is wildly operating in an Abernite style. Then there is Dowson-Lomas-Blackwood

What are the trends within the membership of the YS-LJS and the LSA-LSO. Diverse.

There are a layer of newer comrades--Doohoo, Ellen May Sharon

There are the Wayne's and Bob Mc

Then there are the Harry K, Gord D

These are elements that tend to be generally rejecting the RCT ,are in the old Trotskyist stream and are being fought for by the new leadership and Dowson-B and L

In this confusion how can they find their way without DLB making a general critique otherwise it is very difficult for them to see the politics of the dispute --all the more because of Dowson's cantankerous character--xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx he is still fated to play the main role--cant see anyone else--and the generation gap.

This is of course a Toronto LSA picture and leaves out the youth too, not to speak of Quebec

We do not know what is happening in the cross-Canada movement and in the youth. Probably Edmonton-Vancouver are confused but mostlry in the leadership's camp

Yes how can the best elements coalesce in this confusion--all the more that the leadership is now really going Abernite and despite John R's contradictory position having to slip back onto the plenum line--that the Cdn movement has never for a long time operated other than on an empirical basis
Our reluctance to form a tendency can only be seen as flwoing from Do son's personal desire to pull back and the other the hope that this leadership would break up sooner than it appears that it is going to. Right now it is firming up against D-L-B at the same time as everything should tell it to make approaches towards D-L-B in the face of the Red Circle and RCT. However it may well feel that it has our support and I have done much to affirm that feeling in their circle. Their real problem in this respect howver is their sharing with the RCT the concept that the old Trotskyism has to go. The RCT is probably going to try to drive a wedge between the new leadership and D-L-B. What holds the new leadership to DLB is our common position on the internation al, our common position on the NDP and our general common position on the histoy of the CDN movement which for completely unprincipled reasons they for personal crisis reasons they are dumping. These are the firmest basis for working together , but their clique politics are causing them to completely undermine our common position on the history and methodology of the Cdn movement. In fact in the face of the obvious bankrupcy on Canada and the crisis of world imperialism among the comrades who DLB are fighting for they are making this the really big issue---and alas for them if the tendency has much on the ball it will take advantage of this and really stick them with it.

My reluctance to form a tendency ,my hopes that this leadership would straighten out has cuased DLB to take on the appearance of a generally negative character--against the leadership but offering no laternative but some politics that are very slow in being revealed.---it is also based on my reluctance to take ovee the leadership in the old way. These concepts are now proving to be counter-productive--and are not markedly different from old Trotskyism. but in fact a continuity--economic assimilation
We should now announce a tendency. How should it appear
1--with the international minority
2---upholnd the old Canadian Trotskyism
in general and specificially---our position against the new Canada-US relations
position of the new leadership which dumps 1968 and is completely non-Marxist.

We need to prepare a new Canada-US relations---part of the political resolution
we need to take up the clique leadership
we need a tendency statement

The organizational aspects of the present dispute may well come up with the tendency. contributions ---they have every interest in raising it it seems to me--the problem of leadership. We can sit on this. We can sit on the new Canada -US relations and the political resolution for a while. But it seems to me that we need the tendency statement almost right away---certainly so the YS comrades can know about it

What role can we play in the youth convention---Is Zane up to carrying one that we might decided upon which might be demanding.

December 31, 1972

Why have John K and Phil come up to see me in considerable turmoil over the debate now taking place in the closedsession of the YS-LJS conve tion on the Halifax Fredericton suspensions and cenruses. Ross Dowson is coming under strong attack it would appear. Alan Claridge is claiming that at a joint youth and league cO meeting he said that we took the action to drive the tendency out of the movement to block the international majority's intervention in our movement and their eff orts to build an operation in it. Of course my right offtxxxxx response was that it is all hearsay and that it cannot be said to be valid in anyway and if they want to say that why dont we challenge them to claim that I said even more outrageous things that would serve their purpose

What is all this about--isn't this leadership prepared to stand by their own acti ions--are they looking for a scapegoat--perhaps being prepared to toss Dowson to the wolves. Thinking back about that conversation now I recall that John claims that is a personal conversation that I said something along this line. So.....

But does John,now that I think it over,actaully think that I did say such a thing at this joint meeting attended by such as Alan Claridge. And therefore they,moralistx that they are,are not at all prepared to say that it is all hearsay ,that it is true--and that the whole Maritimes affair was wrong after all--and it was all Ross Dowson's fult.--he and he alone is responsible--he took us poor well meaning persons out on this gambit

I feel like going down + telling them - Why dont you do that - Blame Dowson for everything but you are not prepared to stand up for against the tendency for Canada-US Relations for Quebec 1968-+/72 on TU leadership for Womens Liberation + Slogan every matter as you run before ultra leftist pressures + collapse on your own pol bankruptcy - Why dont you - yes

Conversation with John R a few days earlier re the use of the org device in Maritimes - remove all rights but none of the responsibilities of membership. It appears that John R was always uneasy about the Now it is being used as a formula across the country - recently to handle a drug case in Edmonton I told him that article can be used by anyone - we never made it - both the action - on the basis that we were laying down any immutable formula - why dont you repudiate its misuse - not its original use.

It appears it is being used to set off the automatic expulsion line of the YS + YSA.

In passing I told him that we in Canada should re think in light of the Lo Dam report our position on the

Then a sam of course Dowson is the permissive - Harry P — 30 —

Socialist city election campaigns

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No Canadian troops to Indochina!

CANADIAN TROOPS NEXT? Trudeau government is attempting to build up public support for further Canadian intervention in Vietnam.

by GEORGE ADDISON

With the Nov. 19 announcement by Indonesia, and the Dec. 1 statement from Poland that they are willing to be members of a new International Control Commission in Vietnam, should a cease-fire come into effect, there are increasing moves by the Canadian government to build up public sympathy for a similar announcement of its own.

There have been many indications of the intention of the Trudeau government on this score — from External Affairs minister Sharp's first Oct. 25 announcement that Canada "would look favorably on a request to join a new ICC," to his most recent statement on Nov. 26, that such a force would cost Canadians tens of millions of dollars, but he was sure that taxpayers would support the cost.

What is the holdup? First, of course, the nature of this international supervisory force is still under discussion in the continuing negotiations between the U.S. and North Vietnam. Secondly, Canada has raised a number of conditions for its participation on the force.

Speaking on Nov. 2, External Affairs minister Sharp laid out four Canadian conditions. These are, according to Sharp:

1. The makeup and responsibilities must be accepted by all parties involved in the Vietnam war. The Saigon regime has yet to announce its agreement.
2. The commission must report to a "suitable" international authority. This would presumably be set up by an international conference, to be convened within 30 days of the cease-fire, under the proposed agreement.
3. The procedures for reporting must be "workable." Apparently Canada does not want a requirement for unanimous agreement on the commission.
4. The commission must have freedom to move throughout North and South Vietnam.

Sharp added Nov. 21 that he does not expect that the Canadian troops assigned to duty in Vietnam would bear arms. The task, said Sharp, would be "to observe and report, not to keep the peace."

We should note that the question of arms is somewhat secondary, since the particular task of the Canadian force would be mainly technical (communications, air transport, etc.) and political (covering up U.S. and Saigon violations of the agreements, legitimizing rigged elections, supporting phony territorial claims, etc.), which do not necessarily require an armed force.

But there are important reasons why the Canadian government, even with an unarmed force, is reluctant to get embroiled in Vietnam. Those reasons are political. The government cannot afford to be openly seen by Canadians as an agent for U.S. imperialism in Indochina.

This was expressed by Canadian government officials in a series of secret off-the-record briefings in Ottawa, reported by Toronto Star

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Women press struggle in B.C. NDP

by RACHEL WOODHOUSE

Over 700 delegates and 200 alternates attended the annual provincial convention of the B.C. NDP, held Nov. 24-26 in Vancouver. The large number of resolutions submitted — more than 400 — to the convention clearly showed the determination of the membership to develop the NDP program in all areas. However, the structure of the convention sessions placed barriers in the way of such participation, and only about 50 resolutions came to the convention floor. This generated considerable frustration and resentment among the delegates, and a resolution calling for a full-scale policy convention in 1973 met with overwhelming approval.

A question of key importance posed by the convention was: Who makes the political decisions in the NDP? This issue emerged most clearly around the passage of a resolution calling for a Ministry of Women's Affairs to be established in the first sitting of the Legislature. The debate on the ministry was the highlight of the convention. Scores of women went to the microphones to speak in its favor, telling of the experiences in and out of the party which had brought them to the conviction that such a ministry was necessary.

Woman after woman argued for a special body, staffed, planned, run, and organized by women, to aid women in their struggles. The resolution was passed by a solid majority. At women's caucus meetings during the convention, women from all areas decided to hold regional conferences on the ministry as soon as possible, to work out guidelines for its tasks and functioning.

But in spite of the firm decision taken by the convention, Premier Barrett informed the press that the ministry would be very low on his government's priority list.

It is clear that what Barrett and other right wing NDP cabinet ministers object to is not the proposal for a women's ministry itself, but the thrust of the struggle and program behind this proposal. NDP women are demanding the creation of a ministry as a concrete measure to be taken by the government to aid women in their many struggles against discrimination and oppression. While a ministry could not solve the problems women face, it could undertake such measures as providing funds for a program of free 24-hour childcare centres; for abortion clinics; for centres of women's studies. Grants could be made to women's liberation groups and other women's organizations. A ministry could see to the enforcement of equal pay legislation. It could overhaul the curricula of the public education system which now purveys and reinforces capitalist society's definition of women as inferior beings, channelling women from childhood into domestic and servile roles.

The Barrett leadership, firmly schooled like the rest of the NDP leadership in a dogmatic liberal reformist mould, does not want to yield an inch to the radical dynamic behind the NDP convention call for a women's ministry.

Barrett, speaking to the convention itself, stressed that although the delegates set policy, the party's "political arm" — the government — has the right to decide which of these policies should be implemented. This statement rightly disturbed many delegates since it implied that the role of the membership is purely advisory and that membership decisions in convention have no force or meaning. The need to establish the democratic right of the party membership to control the decision-making of the NDP will be the focus of an important struggle in the party in the next period.

JOYCE MEISSENHEIMER. Elected to B.C. NDP executive.

Debate on labor issues was conspicuously absent from the convention floor. This is particularly disturbing in view of the government's recently announced plan to delay all changes in labor legislation (except the already repealed sections of Bill 33) until 1974, pending hearings by a so-called "Inquiry Commission." There is no need at all for a study for the NDP government to know that certain antilabor sections of the labor code must be repealed immediately. They are spelled out in the programs of both the B.C. Federation of Labor and the NDP. It is simply a matter of removing them from the books. But Labor Minister King has since stated that the "Inquiry Commission" will go ahead, to be composed of an "independent" chairman and one representative

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each from management and labor.

The absence of significant debate around labor questions was a telling indicator of the state of the socialist left in the party. Caught up in illusions bred by the party's electoral success, much of the traditional B.C. NDP left, such as those forces who had comprised the Waffle, found their energies and attentions diffused into confused discussions on such unscientific concepts as zero population growth, curtailment of industrial growth as the solution to pollution, etc. The majority of the convention actually adopted resolutions which projected the "people cause pollution" theory, although many socialist delegates pointed to the real problem — the anarchistic capitalist system of production for profit, not human use. They called for tough pollution laws and nationalization under workers' control of corporations that defy them.

Resolutions calling for nationalization of the MacMillan-Bloedel forest complex in B.C. received significant support in convention panels, but Barrett's convention strategists carefully saw to it that the question was quickly steered off the convention floor. A motion calling for workers participation in the decision-making of B.C. Hydro was passed, although it fell short of previous NDP motions calling for workers control.

The disorganized and incoherent state of the socialist left in the B.C. NDP left many opportunities for effective presentation of a class struggle program unused. Nevertheless, the political vitality and enthusiasm of the convention discussions revealed a mood of eagerness to discuss and hammer out programatic questions — a real challenge to socialists in the party — particularly to press ahead with demands for nationalization of the forest industry and B.C. Telephone.

While there is no doubt that Barrett and his colleagues are firmly in the driver's seat of the party and face no significant programatic challenge at this time, the convention also showed many conflicting trends and cross currents. The elections for the incoming executive of the B.C. NDP reflected much ferment within the party. The party leadership's slate was shattered by the delegates' votes, but on the other hand, no single current or grouping within the party emerged as a coherent force. Numerous slates were presented. The strongest single element was the support given to women candidates, including four who were endorsed by the women's caucus at the convention — Mercy Robinson as first vice president; Yvonne Cocke as third vice president; and Joyce Meissenheimer and Gwen Dowding, members-at-large.

What are the most immediate tasks before the socialist left of the B.C. NDP? The left is challenged to give leadership to those forces seeking to assert the right of the party to control its legislative caucus, especially around the demand for a Ministry of Women. While these questions promise to be the focus of much rank-and-file activity, the socialist left, given the challenges revealed at the convention, has the responsibility to organize itself, to put forward a rounded socialist program of demands in preparation for the regional conferences and the next convention of the party.

Subscription drive

2279 new readers

by GARY PORTER

Subscription drive director

The drive for 3,000 new Labor Challenge, Young Socialist and Liberation readers ended Nov. 18. When the subscriptions were totalled up, we had only 2279.

Socialist press supporters, particularly those who exceeded their goal in many areas, worked long hard hours canvassing for readers. But our supporters, particularly in the Toronto area found that the goal they set for themselves was too much — given the many other responsibilities that they had to take on ... our subscription drive committee, for example, found that it could not give the necessary time and energy to the direction of the campaign, pressed as they were by other responsibilities.

In some areas, our supporters reported somewhat less interest in the papers among students, reflecting the relative lull in the student movement. Antiwar and abortion repeal demonstrations, usually excellent places for subscription sales, were relatively small.

But we did make 76 percent of our goal — providing a base for the socialist press for the next period. Campaigners reported that subscriptions were sold in a variety of areas: 15 percent door-to-door in campus dormatories; 12 percent at meetings and events of the NDP; 10 percent from campus literature tables, with the remaining divided among a range of other sales areas.

Here is the final scoreboard. And by the way, keep selling subscriptions to the socialist press.

AREA	GOAL	SOLD	PERCENT
Regina	10	17	170
Winnipeg	100	106	106
Vancouver	450	481	105
Edmonton	200	204	102
Ottawa	125	127	102
York University	75	75	100
Hamilton	50	37	74
Montreal-Hull	300	196	65
Toronto	900	536	60
Halifax	50	30	60
Peterborough	125	67	54
St. Catharines	40	20	50
Kitchener-Waterloo			
Guelph	125	50	40
Fredericton	25	-	-
Mineral	300	333	111
TOTAL	3000	2279	76

Editorial

ONDP convention

The Ontario NDP convention meets some months after its right wing leadership delivered a terrible blow to the capacities of the party to advance the needs of working people. The struggle carried by the ONDP ranks against the Lewis leadership's witchhunt against theWafflelast spring and summer indicated a wide interest in many of the Waffle's anti-capitalist planks. At the last ONDP convention, many of the resolutions passed were planks introduced by the Waffle.

Over the summer, the NDP left suffered a severe setback when following the NDP defeat in the last Ontario provincial election, the Lewis leadership and the union brass succeeded in ramming a resolution through the provincial council proscribing the Waffle.

Melville Watkins and James Laxer split from the NDP, rejecting a struggle against the reformist NDP leadership to build a Canadian nationalist movement for "Independence and Socialism."

Out of this split came the Left Caucus, a group of New Democrats from across the province who refused to abandon the NDP to the liberal reformist leaders who presently control labor's party.

The Left Caucus, with a substantial number of delegates to the convention, is placing a class struggle program before the delegates on a number of key issues.

The convention meets as the Trudeau government is testing public opinion on the possibility of sending so called "peace-keeping" troops to Vietman. Resolutions demanding an end to Canada's complicity in the war are on the agenda. The convention must follow the lead of the B.C. NDP by taking a firm stand against any and all Canadian intervention in Vietnam. Canada must not participate in a "supervised peace" designed to maintain a counterrevolutionary base for U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.

The NDP leadership's stand against the national struggle of the Quebecois must be challenged. The NDP must be the strongest advocate of the right of the Quebecois to self-determination, including separation. It must be a staunch defender of the current struggles of Quebec labor against the antilabor drive of the Bourassa government.

The Ontario NDP has a far reaching program for the rights of women. But the leadership has chosen to sweep it under the carpet. The NDP must play an active role in the struggle of women. It must support the movement for abortion law repeal. It must champion the struggle for free 24-hour childcare facilities, for an end to sex discrimination on the job and encourage the unionization of women. The B.C. NDP convention showed the power of women organized in the NDP. The present subcommittee on policy for women must become a women's rights committee with the power to organize women within the NDP, to develop policies for the party and to struggle for the implementation of the NDP's policy on women.

The use of injunctions and cops against striking workers has become a hallmark of the big business Tory government along with slave labor anti-strike legislation like Bill 41, aimed at the hospital workers. The NDP must stand firmly for the unfettered right to strike, for the shorter work week without pay reductions, for the repeal of all antilabor legislation and against wage controls. It must actively participate in the defense of workers' jobs, against plant shutdowns and layoffs, demanding public ownership of runaway plants under workers control. A planned economy under public ownership must be the bedrock of the NCP's economic policy beginning with a campaign for nationalization of resource industries — now part of NDP policy.

The growing economic crisis is reflected in Tory cutbacks in education and social services. The NDP must identify with the demands of students to stop the cutbacks for free tuition and more student aid. For student-faculty control of the schools and universal accessibility to higher education. Public ownership of hospitals and the drug industry must be the reply to the Tory attack on health services.

An NDP victory on the provincial level requires a mass base in Ontario's major industrial centres. This must be built through NDP campaigns to rid municipal governments of Liberal-Tory control in the guise of "non-partisan" politics. The responsibility to provide a working class alternative in the recent Toronto municipal elections was neglected by the NDP, leaving the field to Liberal and Tory "reformers." The League for Socialist Action campaigned for a "labor City Hall." The convention must resolve to prepare now for the next round of municipal elections in two years time.

Possibilities for building the socialist forces within the NDP are considerable. Receptivity for a class struggle program is deep. At this convention of the ONDP, those New Democrats who fought to maintain democracy in the NDP and who are now fighting for the socialist view, have the opportunity to rebuild the NDP left and win wide sections of the NDP to a class struggle perspective.

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labor Challenge #69 Dec 1972

Socialist campaign reached thousands

by JOAN CAMPANA
Campaign manager

Outside the large Eaton Auditorium a small white leaflet was being circulated. "Jacquie Henderson is the socialist candidate for mayor. He[r] name will appear on the ballot. B[u]t she is not being allowed to speak tonight."

The event was the traditional "Star Forum", hosted by Toronto's largest circulation daily, The Toronto Star on Nov. 22. In a huge ad in their paper, entitled "Meet Your Next Mayor", they elaborated the purpose of the evening:

"Politics is participation. If you want a hand in how your neighbourhood and your city is to be planned and run for the next two years, you will have to get involved with the candidates, particularly those running for mayor."

But there was one problem. The Star had decided in advance which candidates the voters could become involved with; only three of the seven candidates for mayor had been invited.

The socialist campaign decided to challenge this blatant discrimination. Their leaflet continued: "The Star has decided that only candidates spending over $50,000 may speak. Only members of the Conservative Party (Crombie and Rotenberg) or the Liberal Party (O'Donohue) are "serious". Jacquie Henderson is campaigning to end big business control of City Hall . . . The Toronto Star opposes the socialist program. And now it has excluded Jacquie Henderson from the Forum.

"This is pure discrimination . . . The Toronto Star is opposed to democracy in civic politics."

When the three "major" candidates were introduced, someone called out, "Where is Henderson?" But the three proceded; all supporters of big business, friends of the developers and landlords and members of the two big business parties, they delivered their indistinguishable speeches.

Then a pause came. A mood of anticipation swept the audience of 1000. Jacquie Henderson had arisen from the audience and mounted the stage. She calmly took over the centre stage microphone and appealed to the audience to let her speak.

"You have heard one speech", she said. "I am here to give the other. I urge you to let me speak."

The chairwoman attempted to stop her, but when the audience responded with calls of "Let her speak" and "Free speech," she was forced to allow Henderson to continue.

Henderson spoke, not merely about "participation" or a "hand" in how the city is run; she spoke about the need for power in City Hall — power for working people, for tenants, students and women. She spoke, not about keeping Toronto the way it is, as the others had, but of changing it from top to bottom, to meet the needs of the vast majority of Torontonians.

WHAT'S SHE DOING HERE? Toronto Star Forum Nov. 22 was supposed to be restricted to big business mayoralty candidates Rotenberg, Crombie and O'Donohue, but socialist candidate Jacquie Henderson won overwhelming audience support for her right to speak. After speaking, to the chagrin of the other candidates, she also took full part in the question period.

REAL ANSWERS

"I am here to give real answers to the questions you have," she concluded. And with that, she seated herself at the table with the other three mayoralty candidates. She answered the questions, ranging all the way from how a labor City Hall would fight to repeal the abortion laws to how it would end the corporate stranglehold on the city.

The discriminatory exclusiveness of Toronto's twenty-third "Star Forum" had indeed been shattered. The only person who seemed noticeably hostile was the Star's bigwig publicity director who had introduced the evening. He sat purple-faced and fuming through the rest of the program.

At the end of the meeting Henderson was interviewed by Ryerson campus radio. "The warm response we got tonight," she said, "is typical of what we've been receiving throughout the campaign. People in this city are dissatisfied. They're tired of City Hall consistently putting profit before the interests and needs of people. They're looking for an alternative — one which our slate alone provides. The big success of our campaign is that we've been able to take the labor socialist alternative to so many people in this city — to tenants and ratepayers groups, to women's groups, high

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school and university students, to campaign meetings and gatherings right across the city."

Henderson alone spoke to more than 35 meetings during the six week campaign. 30,000 campaign brochures were distributed and 4,000 posters were pasted up in the city. The socialist candidates spoke directly to more than 7,000 people in election meetings, and 20 interviews on radio and television stations took their platform to countless others. Henderson spoke on all major Toronto radio and television stations.

The three major daily newspapers, however, were openly hostile. The Toronto Star, when it did mention the socialist campaign, persisted in referring to Henderson as "non-serious" and a "dark horse" candidate. The Globe and Mail's only article on the socialist candidate for mayor was a direct attack. They headlined it: "The People's Choice — well, some People's." The Sun wrote nothing on the socialist campaign.

STUDENT AND 'UNDERGROUND' MEDIA

But it was a different story with the student and "underground" media. As an interviewer for York University Radio put it, "In my opinion Jacquie does represent the real alternative in this election." York Radio interviewed Henderson twice; the first time it was a debate between her and David Rotenberg, the candidate most identified with the developers and big business.

The Varsity, the student newspaper at the University of Toronto, ran an article five days prior to the election on the success of the socialist campaign. Ryerson newspaper, the Eyeopener, devoted a full page to what Toronto would be like "with Jacquie Henderson at the helm." Guerilla, Toronto's underground newspaper, ran a full page spread on Henderson for mayor, and described her at one of the initial campaign meetings as "by far the most knowledgeable and articulate speaker of the evening."

"She declared," they went on, "that it was time to kick the corporate bums out of City Hall and based her campaign on the need to bring rank and file labor into the political arena. She emphasized the need for ending the corporate capitalist hold on civic, provincial and national government."

MASS ACTION

The way this will be done, the socialist candidates emphasized, is by masses of people organizing around their needs, against the two percent who presently control the city. "That is how we will successfully fight and stop the cutbacks in education," Heather Thomson, Young Socialist candidate for Board of Education, told a meeting of Women for Political Action on Nov. 19. "If we get anough people out in opposition to the cutacks, there is no way the provincial government can ignore us."

This meeting, held for all women candidates in the civic elections, gave a particularly enthusiastic hearing to the three women candidates of the League and the Young Socialists. "They're so strongly for women's rights," said one woman as she left. "They've certainly got my vote."

The other two Young Socialist candidates for Board of Education, Cliff Mack and Abie Weisfeld, also spoke in opposition to the cutbacks in education and for students and teachers taking control over education.

The best response came at the Nov. 21 rally against the cutbacks organized at Queen's Park in Toronto. 500 students from Toronto and across southern Ontario heard Henderson and Mack describe a socialist solution to the crisis in education. They outlined how a labor City Hall would tax the corporations and use the money for free education and a living wage for students.

It wasn't the only demonstration the socialist candidates addressed. They spoke as well to the Nov. 18 antiwar rally in Toronto's City Hall square, to a demonstration calling for civil rights in Ireland, and Henderson announced her candidature earlier in November at a rally to repeal the Canadian abortion laws.

WIDESPREAD INTEREST

There was definite interest in the socialist campaign — both in the larger rallies and meetings and in the smaller ward meetings throughout the city. What had been an entirely humdrum meeting in Ward 4 Nov. 29 changed into a lively confrontation between LSA aldermanic candidate Darrel Furlotte and candidates backing the landlords who exploit tenants in the area. area.

"The socialist solution to the housing crisis," Furlotte said, "calls for a crash program of public housing, tenant-controlled, with rents no more than 20 percent of a person's income." The reactionary incumbent aldermanic candidate was positively shocked; but the audience gave Furlotte a warm round of applause. The socialist program on housing was later picked up by Ontario Tenant, the newspaper of the Ontario Housing Tenants' Association.

Young Socialist Cliff Mack also dismayed one of his opponents in Ward 6 when he spoke of student-faculty control of the schools, utilizing them to organize against the sending of Canadian troops to Vietnam. "The issues you raise are irrelevant," spluttered the irate candidate.

But an older teacher at Toronto's Central Technical School didn't think so, when Mack spoke in support of teachers having the right to strike. "It sure is a shame you won't get elected," he said. "You've got some pretty fine positions."

Ellie Kirzner, candidate for alderwoman in Ward 8, received the same response at a meeting in her ward when she attacked the developers "who don't develop Toronto in the interests of people, but in the interests of developing their own pocketbooks."

The socialist candidates and their supporters celebrated the success of their campaign two nights before the election, on Saturday, Dec. 2. "We ran a tremendous campaign," Henderson said. "You could see the interest in every meeting. I know not all the young people whom we spoke to will vote for us — but they were listening, and they're still looking for alternatives. We'll see them again. Many of them will join us.

"For our campaign really doesn't end on Dec. 4. The problems are still there — and our movement to end them goes on working and organizing all year round."

Ireland repression denounced

Demonstrators picketed the offices of Aer Lingus in Toronto, Dec. 2, to protest the repression of the Irish republican movement by the Lynch "Free State" government. The picket, which was addressed by Socialist mayoralty candidate Jacquie Henderson, was called by the newly formed Irish Republican Club and demanded the immediate release of Sean MacStiofain, provisional Republican leader, and an end to internment "north and south."

Henderson, speaking for the League for Socialist Action, stated: "Canadians and Quebecois — hundreds of whom were direct victims of police raids, arrests and phoney charges during the War Measures crisis in 1970 — should have little difficulty in understanding the real meaning of the current burst of repression in the Irish Republic. Just as Trudeau, Bourassa, and Drapeau resorted to the War Measures Act, to police and army repression to strike a blow at the Quebecois nationalist and workers movement, so today, the Government of Jack Lynch in Dublin strikes a blow at the cause of Irish freedom . . ."

Henderson, attacking Lynch's claims to be "defending democracy," stated "the real interests that it serves are those of British and foreign imperialism — including Canadian imperialism — who invest in Ireland to find cheap labor and cheap resources in search of lucrative super profits.

"Have you ever heard of Mogul of Ireland? A Canadian mining company, which while it pays neither corporation nor income taxes to Ireland, will extract from its mine at Silvermines, Nenaugh a net profit of some 65 million pounds over the life of the mine. Mogul, which is twenty-five percent owned by Silvermines, Ltd., which is controlled by a pack of Toronto profiteers including Conservative party candidate Stephen Roman, forced its workers in 1971 into a bitter four month long strike for a miserable increase in wages."

"We wholeheartedly support," Henderson said, "the demand of the Irish workers movement for nationalization without compensation of Mogul of Ireland . . . it's time Ireland kicked out these Canadian imperialists, she exclaimed.

"Solidarity with the Irish struggle!

"Freedom for Sean Macstiofan and other Republican prisoners.

"British troops out of Ireland!"

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'Reformers' sweep Toronto

by JACQUIE HENDERSON

"Who's running City Hall now?" shouted a man to the large crowd of young people who had crowded in Toronto's City Hall as the election returns came in Dec. 4.

"We are! We've taken over," they yelled back. "Out with the old guard."

Throughout the election campaign, growing discontent had been expressed with the pro-big business City Hall. There was much truth to defeated mayoralty candidate David Rotenberg's election night lament that, "All over the city — the city went left." But when the dust cleared, there proved to be more enthusiasm and wishful thinking than truth in the triumphant cry of these youth.

David Crombie, the youngest of the big business candidates and the one least tainted with the rotten record of City Hall was elected mayor with over 81,000 votes. Many of the "old guard" aldermen were ousted by "reform candidates." Many people, looking for an alternative voted for Crombie and the reformers.

But these "reformers," far from presenting a clear alternative to the big business-run City Hall, were instead a diverse crew of Liberals and Tories and a few, very few, NDPers. They all ran as individuals, without any common program, simply promising to be more responsive to their "communities."

Only the campaign of the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists with its candidates for Mayor, Aldermen and Board of Education, focused attention on the need to kick big business out of City Hall, to elect a labor administration armed with a socialist program. Confronted with the NDP's abstention from the election, the LSA and YS fielded a partial slate of 6 candidates — the only slate in the election.

In spite of a near blackout of the socialist campaign in the daily press, the Socialist Campaign received an enthusiastic response from a large number of people. Many said they supported the campaign but were "afraid Rotenberg will get in" so were voting Crombie.

Crombie attempted to appeal to the growing mood of discontent, promising to listen to both the people and the private developers and to "slow down" development. His main plank was to "keep Toronto the way it is." To many people he seemed like the "lesser evil" of the big business candidates.

But Toronto Star columnist, Michael Best showed the other side of the coin when he attributed Crombie's victory to "a strong base of support in the north Toronto wards" (the richer area of the city) and "the inside track on the Conservative party organization at the grass roots level. Here he would be elbowing Rotenberg, also a Conservative, out of the play. O'Donohue is a Liberal."

Although they ran a partial slate in the last civic election, the NDP abstained in this election, refusing to run a slate. Most of those NDPers in the running did not run on the party label. The Labor Council, taking a gigantic step backward from the last municipal election when they took a policy of only endorsing NDP candidates, endorsed a slate of Liberal and Tory "independent reformers." The Communist Party also stood in opposition to a clear working class alternative to big business control of City Hall. They ran Nelson Clarke, secretary of the Metro Toronto Committee of the Communist Party as an "independent." Clarke stated in the Nov. 1 Canadian Tribune: "Of course we as a party don't run candidates in the municipal election, and in fact are opposed to the entry of political parties into the municipal arena."

Action cut across the illusions by putting forward the fact that political parties do dominate municipal politics. But without the party of the working class, the NDP, in the arena, it is a field left open to the big business parties. It was in order to present an alternative to them that the LSA and YS fielded their slate.

But the socialist campaign did not have the resources or the mass base that could have made up for the NDP's failure to present a slate. Thus, despite the widely expressed protest against the old regime, and the defeat of many of the prominent "old guard" the voters saw no real alternative but to try to get some "better" individuals. O'Donohue received higher votes than Crombie in many of the downtown working class polls. Crombie got the richer northern area of the city and a significant number of the downtown votes. Rotenberg was soundly beaten, coming a poor third.

The League for Socialist Action and Young Socialist candidate for Mayor polled 1,557 votes (.8 percent) — a modest but significant vote in light of the press blackout, the Crombie sweep, and the fact that there were two left candidates running. The CP candidate, Clarke got fewer votes than Henderson in spite of his running as an independent and carefully steering away from controversial issues that might seem too radical to voters. Others on the LSA-YS ticket received up to 6.7 percent of the vote. The socialist vote was concentrated mainly in student and working class areas.

The socialists were able to get the class alternative across to millions of people through radio and television, as well as through their leaflets and posters. They repeated their central theme before audiences across the city — the trouble with City Hall, they said, is not that the community is not listened to, but that it is controlled completely by the political representatives of the capitalist class that rules this country. Everything that class does is motivated by one consideration — the preservation and extension of the private profit system.

Any program for social change must start from a recognition of the need to replace capitalist class rule with the rule of the working class — the only class in society which has no stake in maintaining the capitalist system. It must aim to establish socialism. There is not third alternative, no middle road.

That is why the socialists summed up their campaign in the slogan "For a labor City Hall." That is why they pushed the NDP to run in the election. The NDP, as the party of the trade union movement, represents an important first step in breaking the working class from its political subservience to the capitalist parties. The radical significance of this party lies not in its reformist program, but in its independence from the capitalist class. The formation of the NDP marked an end of attempts by liberal reformists to forge an alliance with sections of the bourgeoisie through such formulas as the discredited Liberal-labor alliance.

But the scandalous abstention of the NDP in the Toronto civic elections has left open all the doors to the hoary old illusions that "honorable men" of the capitalist class, and alliances of individuals from all parties can bring about much-needed social change. The next two years until the next civic election will show how wrong this is.

On election night, the Socialist slate issued a challenge to the upcoming Ontario NDP convention to take a firm decision to run a full slate next election.

But the socialists will not be waiting until the next election. The struggles for women's rights, tenants' rights, for massive public housing, for student rights and against the cutbacks in education spending, for taxation of the rich, for other themes of our socialist campaign will continue and develop, and can be counted on to take to the streets in mass mobilizations when frustrated by City Hall.

Our campaign to break the power of big business is a continuing one. The LSA and YS campaign was a big educational effort to lay the groundwork for success in these approaching struggles.

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Ottawa campaign posed cialist alternative

by JOHN SAGE

"Our campaign for mayor of Ottawa has succeeded in further embedding the League for Socialist Action into the Ottawa political scene," declared Jack Ridout, the LSA candidate. "We showed the way for labor political action, and brought the socialist alternative to thousands. We are very pleased with our 2.5 percent of the vote."

Ridout spoke to more than two dozen meetings and interviews, hitting on all the burning issues that face Ottawans, and enabling the LSA campaign to embrace the various movements for social change that have been springing up.

The LSA candidate addressed a Nov. 18 teach-in of the Ottawa Vietnam Mobilization Committee (Ridout was the only one of the four invited mayoralty candidates to show up), and called for an immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina. Ridout said: "As a socialist mayor, I would vigorously oppose any move to send Canadian troops to Vietnam. Not one Ottawan, not one Canadian to Vietnam to deny the Vietnamese their right to self-determination. . . . You can vote against Trudeau and Sharp's war policy by voting for Jack Ridout for mayor Dec. 4, but even more important — keep building the antiwar movement, broadening its base, and drawing in new forces, to confront and defeat the government's plans to send forces to Indochina."

Three days later, Ridout spoke at an educational meeting sponsored by the Ottawa Abortion Coalition. He challenged a candidate for controller: "The crucial matter here is women's control over their own bodies — over their lives. Women suffer second-class status in this society, so do you want that situation changed, or are you going to remain in the past?" He went on to outline specific programs for implementation by a labor City Hall — community clinics with abortion facilities, free 24-hour childcare centers, etc.

The LSA campaign was the only one to speak in concrete terms about women's needs. Other candidates made vague proposals for "more daycare," but it was Ridout who pointed out the only way to do it. "Tax the rich," he said.

A number of candidates ran as "independent reformers" for various posts, failing to put forward a clearcut alternative to a city administration controlled by the land developers and their Liberal and Tory handraisers.

Most scandalous of all was the conduct of Eileen Scotton, a prominent NDPer who was chairwoman of the Ottawa Board of Education and was seeking a Board of Control seat. Scotton said she was "proud to be an NDPer" but would be running as an "independent."

At a Nov. 15 all-candidates meeting, Scotton supported Pierre Benoit, the incumbent mayor and a well-known Liberal. Her action, and the NDP's abstention from civic politics, only further the myth of "non-partisan" politics that is a bulwark of big-business power in City Hall.

The main purpose of the LSA campaign was to explain what a labor City Hall would mean to the city of Ottawa. Ridout put forward a detailed program for the housing shortage and tenants' rights.

Ridout hit at the acute housing crisis in Ottawa at almost every meeting. A new house costs an average $30,700 — the second highest in the country. "This is well out of the reach of the average workers," said Ridout. "The city has to cut the feet out from under the developers. The LSA proposes that the city go into the public housing business in a big way . . . . Land held by speculators that is needed for housing should be expropriated. Unlike the situation that has existed in the past, a labor City Hall would be 100 percent on the side of the tenants," he said.

The LSA declared its solidarity with the 400 teachers who walked out Nov. 28, and called for student-teacher control of the schools. Ridout said Ottawa should refuse the provincial government's education and hospital cutbacks. "The Tories don't have to trim these essential services; the money can be found," stated Ridout, "Tax the corporate welfare bums!"

The LSA campaign was the only one to support full rights for public workers, gays and francophones.

The program of the LSA called for a shorter work week for the municipal civil service, with no loss in take-home pay, and a $2.75 per hour minimum wage. This, it said, would be an example for the federal civil service and for private business. "City Hall took the side of the bosses during the 1971 garbage strike," said Ridout, "A labor City Hall would foster trade unionism."

The big business administration of Ottawa supports the creation of a "national" capital region. The incumbent mayor, Pierre Benoit, stated that the merger of Ottawa and Hull is "as inevitable as death and taxes." The LSA defended the Quebecois' right to self-determination by calling for the abolition of the National Capital Commission and its plans to annex part of Quebec into English Canada.

"The big business candidates are just trying to hold back time," said Ridout, "Every election they come and beg for one more mandate, just one more term to bleed Ottawa and its citizens. The LSA's campaign is for the future of Ottawa. We want a socialist future for the city and the entire country — for the whole world, in fact."

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North York women fight for childcare

The following is an interview with Roslyn Doctorow, a member of the North York Parents' Association for Daycare (PAD). Doctorow is also a member of the Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition and the NDP.

PAD has been fighting the borough council (North York is the northern part of metropolitan Toronto) over its childcare bylaw, which is so harsh it amounts to a decree that woman's place is in the home.

Question: Could you tell us about PAD and what you've been doing about this outrageous bylaw?

Doctorow: PAD was formed in July when the North York bylaw 7625 was used to shut down the only daycare center in the borough that takes children under two.

Three women had to quit work and one of them had to apply for welfare because of the closure! One got angry and went to the North York Council, where they just ignored her. So we formed the Parents' Association for Daycare to get the bylaw changed.

This is actually a zoning bylaw. It says daycare centers may be set up in apartment buildings, but only for the use of those who live in the building. It doesn't allow childcare centers to be built in residential areas, and it even makes it illegal to pay a babysitter in your own home!

We want the bylaw changed so apartment daycare centers can be used by whoever needs them, so up to five children can be cared for in private homes, like in the rest of Metro Toronto, and daycare centers can be located where they are needed.

It took us months to even get a copy of the bylaw, but we finally went to the council in September with a brief. Now they have referred the question from the all-male council to an all-male review committee without even discussing it.

Q: Why is the North York Council so hostile to child care?

Doctorow: I don't think they are interested in the needs of women in North York. They want to maintain the borough as some sort of upper class suburb, but there are two campuses here, and there are thousands of young couples and mothers working or studying who can hardly make ends meet.

Ann Greenwood is one of the founders of PAD and she is fairly typical — she has to support her husband who's a student, and her one-year-old daughter. So childcare is a necessity. One of the councillors had the nerve to tell us "you people ought to stay home with your kids!"

Here women are — half the population and a third of the work force — and these men think they can sit on the council ignoring us and discussing fences and things. Ann Greenwood is absolutely right: she says they are only interested in property rights, not human beings.

So, as far as we were concerned, we had to make this a political issue, and bring it to the attention of the public during the municipal elections.

Q: How have you done so far?

Doctorow: It has really been quite successful. The coverage in the two local papers and in the Toronto Star and Globe and Mail has been very favorable. We have over a thousand signatures on our petition to change the bylaw, and about 150 people attended our election meeting, where we invited the council candidates to take a stand publically. About half of them did come, but you know, even the ones who said they were in favor of daycare were only willing to change the clause dealing with the apartment centers. They are not at all willing to allow childcare centers to be located elsewhere where they are needed. So they are still sacrificing women for their "high-toned" neighborhoods.

We want the new borough council to take up the daycare question as a priority, and if they don't, we're continuing our campaign to make them, and we'll try to get as much backing from the community as we can.

Q: What do you think are the implications of this fight for women's liberation?

Doctorow: Well, a lot of women in the group are becoming aware of their problems as women. One husband got so sick of his wife talking about it and organizing, he tore the phone out of the wall. But it hasn't stopped her! And there are housewives out of their houses for the first time, and some pretty angry single mothers who have a right to help in raising their children. Some feel they are doing something meaningful for the first time — getting together and fighting for what we want and need.

I feel that it's going to take a lot more though. Even if we do win and get the bylaw changed, we still won't have adequate childcare. Many private centers are too costly, and their hours are restrictive. Lots of parents need evening childcare too, because of shift work and other reasons. What we really need, I think, is 24-hour childcare, without cost of course, because it's society's responsibility to free women from all the traditional roles we've been stuck with, and to take on collective responsibility for raising children. Free 24-hour childcare (controlled by the parents and staff) — that's the only way childcare can really meet our needs.

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Interview

Abortion fight in Germany

The following interview is reprinted from the November issue of the American socialist monthly newspaper Young Socialist. It was obtained by Carol Lipman, a former national coordinator of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), in Frankfurt, West Germany, last April. Lipman is a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and a past national officer of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The three women interviewed here — Ines Brenner, Sibylla Flugge and Margit Eschenbach — are organizers of Aktion 218, a national pro-abortion group in Germany.

WONAAC plans to invite women from many European countries to testify at an International Tribunal scheduled to take place in New York City next March.

Question: When did the women's liberation movement develop in Germany?

Answer: In 1968 many women began to recognize that they were oppressed, even in the socialist organizations, and they decided to organize separately from the men in SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund — German Socialist Student Federation). They discussed their oppression as women in SDS, but this women's group didn't exist very long — for only part of a year.

Two years later, in 1970, new groups developed. By that time SDS had broken up, and some of the same women helped form a new organization, the Women's Soviet. These women were mainly from the student movement and didn't have any group to be active in.

The Women's Soviet met for the first time here in Frankfurt. The group met together with secretaries and working people — not industrial workers, but journalists, photographers, office workers, and teachers.

We held discussions in educational study groups where we read literature about the family — the role of the family under a socialist society and especially the function of women in the family. We wanted to show how the oppression of women is not an individual problem but a social problem.

We wanted to find out how a women's group can do revolutionary work. At first we didn't approach it like the feminist groups in America. We didn't do work around our own oppression as women. We worked together with all the socialist groups in Frankfurt — holding teach-ins and demonstrations about the Vietnam war, etc. We were active because we were socialists and we had to build a strong socialist movement, but we didn't have an understanding of how imperialism and the Vietnam war or the oppression at the universities related to the women's movement.

Question: Could you describe the abortion movement in Germany?

Answer: When the abortion movement began to develop in Germany in 1971, we thought that the abortion issue was very important and that we had to struggle and be part of this movement. We set aside our books and our educational program and turned to organizing demonstrations and collective acts of solidarity with the movement against the abortion law.

We knew that this campaign, as it was then organized, was a bourgeois campaign. In Germany, it was started by a magazine called Stern, which published a statement by famous artists and actresses who declared, "I had an illegal abortion." It was not organized by us but by women who were bourgeois.

Spontaneously, a number of groups against Paragraph 218 (the section of the German law code prohibiting abortion) were formed. They were called Aktion 218. We wanted to join this movement, although it was not really a movement at that point.

It was then that we became really active in the abortion struggle. Last summer we stood in the streets giving out information on the abortion situation. We collected signatures on petitions with our demands and 100,000 people signed up in a few days.

We also collected signatures from women who said, "I have had an illegal abortion."

Then we had a demonstration in November. In August we had scheduled our demonstration for Nov. 6. Later we heard that international abortion demonstrations were being held in Europe and America on Nov. 20, but we couldn't change the date.

On March 11 and 12 of this year, Aktion 218 and other women's groups held a conference of 450 women. All the women's groups in Germany came together for meetings, discussing experiences and plans for demonstrations and actions. We discussed the family, working women's problems, the problems of women in trade unions, and the future of the abortion movement.

When the movement first began most groups thougnt it was enough

→p.2

to show parliament that a majority of women wanted to abolish the abortion law. There are polls that have shown that 70 percent of the people want to abolish the law. But parliament doesn't care what people want.

At the March conference it was clear to most of the women and the groups that were initiated last summer that lobbying the minister of Justice or the parliament is not enough. We must be strong and aggressive to get anything.

Question: How do you see the relationship between socialism and feminism?

Answer: When we first became involved in the abortion campaign, we wanted to explain how the problem of the abortion law is a social problem, only part of the total situation of women in this society. We wanted it to have a socialist orientation, and we even had intense discussions in our group over whether or not to join. We decided to join so that we could explain our position on the connection between this law, as a law that oppresses women, and the social structure of capitalism.

We now see the relationship between feminism and socialism in the following way: that women have to fight for their own demands, and during this fight they will begin to perceive that these demands are an integral part of the revolutionary fight. They will eventually see that this fight is part of the whole class struggle.

We also think that it is not only the fight against strictly class oppression that can end all oppression. It's not possible to struggle only around demands about working conditions; you also have to make demands about women's oppression. The women's struggle is part of the revolutionary struggle. That is the main reason why an independent women's movement has to exist.

Before, we never believed that we could do something on our own. We didn't even believe that actions could be organized only on women's problems. But this abortion campaign taught us that the oppression of women is very deeply connected with the oppression of all people in capitalist society and that a socialist movement that doesn't see women's oppression sees only half of reality.

Since the March conference many women have come to recognize that it's not only a question of abortion. They are beginning to recognize that the problems are deeper than abortion.

The abortion campaign is more than simply an abortion campaign. Most of the women's groups in Germany were built around this question, but they have a broader range of issues. Abortion is just the beginning of the movement.

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In brief

FRENCH ABORTION STRUGGLE MOUNTS

"It's a first victory over the defenders of an obsolescent law," Gisele Hamili told nearly 2,000 supporters of women's right to abortion in Paris, Nov. 22. The rally was in celebration of the court victory in the now famous abortion trials of Marie-Claire Chevalier, her mother, two women who helped arrange the abortion, and the abortionist.

Marie-Claire Chevalier was acquitted for having an abortion a month ago after women's liberation and abortion groups demonstrated at the courthouse in her support, and were beaten by the police.

Her mother Michelle Chevalier herself an unwed mother and a subway worker received a suspended fine of $100, while her two subway co-workers were acquitted of complicity. The woman who performed the abortion was given a one-year suspended sentence, where she might have received ten years and a $14,000 fine.

Author Simone de Beauvoir, Jacques Monod, Nobel-prize winner and director of the Pasteur Institute, and other prominent French figures testified for the defense in the face of crude opposition from the government and medical establishment. The minister of Health, for example, opposed liberalizing the abortion laws on the grounds that there was "no reason why the vices of the rich should be made equally possible for the poor."

FRENCH ABORTION TRIAL. Marie-Claire Chevalier, left, and her mother, Michelle.

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Land or Death
The peasant struggle in Peru

PERUVIAN PEASANT UNION LEADER. Hugo Blanco.

Hugo Blanco exiled to Chile

On Oct. 26 Hugo Blanco was sent to Chile by Argentine authorities. The exiled Peruvian Trotskyist, who gained international fame as a peasant leader in the early 1960s, had been held in an Argentine prison without charge since his arrest on July 12. When he was served with a deportation decree last July, Blanco indicated that he preferred to remain in Argentina, but that if that was not possible he would choose to go to Chile.

On the day of his departure, a delegation of some 150 supporters from the Argentine Socialist Party (PSA), headed by General Secretary Juan Carlos Coral, waited to greet him at the airport. Although the authorities reneged on their promise to let them meet Blanco before he boarded the plane, they were able to see him mount the steps with his clenched fist in the air, according to the PSA's weekly newspaper, Avanzada Socialista. "From below, 150 arms shot up into the air to greet him, and 150 voices shouted as loud as they could: 'Viva Hugo Blanco!' "

MASS PEASANT MOBILIZATIONS IN PERU. Peasant union banner reads, 'Land or death! We shall win!'

LAND OR DEATH: The Peasant Struggle in Peru

By Hugo Blanco. 192 pp. New York, Pathfinder Press, $2.70.

Book Review from Labor Challenge, December 1972.

By VERNEL OLSON. Vernel Olson, who for several years during the 1960's was cross-Canada chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, undertook to review Land or Death on request from Labor Challenge. Olson, who has visited Cuba on a number of occasions, has followed Latin American developments very closely over the past decade and is presently a leader of the Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru, is both a fascinating history of the Andean people, the Quechua Indians, who are farmers in the southern mountains of Peru, and at the same time an important political document by one of Latin America's best-known mass leaders, Hugo Blanco. "In recent years," says Peter Camejo in the introduction, "the Quechua peasants have pressed forward in successive upsurges, seeking to reverse their intolerable position at the bottom of Peru's social structure. Their rebellion, coupled with that of the urban workers, threatens to topple the rule of the country's privileged upper classes and the foreign corporations that stand behind them. In this dynamic process, the oppressed layers have found in Hugo Blanco a truly representative figure."

In 1961-62, tens of thousands of Quechua peasants, descendants of the Incas, organized into unions and successfully carried out a land reform in the Department of Cuzco in the southern mountains of Peru. In the Cuzco sierra, the predominant forms of production are those of the indigenous communal village, or ayllu, and its opposite, the hacienda and the latifundia *(feudalist land-holders --ed.)* The ayllu is the peasant commune, which owns the land it works. It is the cell of primitive communism that has survived the Inca Empire, the Colonial period, and the Republic, says Blanco.

While the collectivist system has deteriorated fundamentally in the face of advancing capitalism, the ayllus contain many communal features. "The ayllu is acquiring strength with the revolutionary upsurge," writes Blanco, and "it is possible that the ayllu will become one of the basic forms of the future workers' and peasant's government." The Spanish Conquest brought in the hacienda and landlord system. The generals of the War of Independence were rewarded with haciendas at the expense of the Indians, and the latifundias grew at the expense of the peasants' communal villages, seizing lands with the facade of legality.

Feudal-type relations

Feudal type relations still exist on the land. The large landowner gives a parcel of land to the peasant to work for himself. As rental payment for this parcel, the peasant is obliged to work the fields of the landlord. For the privilege of keeping livestock, which the peasants fatten on the local pastures, they have to surrender some animals to the landlord, and at times must also pay with labor. The peasants' pack animals are used at will by the landlord, without payment.

At the outset of the peasant movement in Cuzco, the predominant agrarian reality was, on the one hand, the backward latifundia with feudal relations and, on the other hand, the village. The conflict has been the struggle of the "comuneros" to recover the lands which had been seized from them in the relatively recent past and the struggle of the hacienda Indians for the reduction of obligations required in return for the parcels of land they occupied; and sometimes for the right to stay on the land, now that the penetration of capitalism was stimulating the landowner to evict them.

Land or Death is a first-hand account of this struggle during 1961-1962. The author of this book was a central organizer of the struggles until he was hunted down and arrested by the Peruvian government in 1963. Blanco was elected secretary of agrarian reform of the Departmental Peasants Federation of Cuzco, and later elected to organize the peasant militias and guerrilla forces. After spending eight years at the maximum security prison island of El Fronton, he was released in 1970 as a result of an international defense campaign. He is currently forced to live in exile by the Velasco military government of Peru, an exile which has taken him to Mexico, Argentina, and now Chile.

One important political question discussed by the author is the situation of the Indian as an oppressed nationality. "Although the wall separating the Indians from those of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry and the whites is not as solid as in the case of the Afro-Americans and the whites in the United States, their humiliation and oppression are worse. Their language, their music, their manner of dress, their tastes, and their customs are ridiculed, suppressed and denigrated."

Blanco states that "without question, the struggle in the countryside is between the peasant and the landlord; but the resurgence of the Indian, of the oppressed nationality, is a fundamental ingredient. Therefore, we always spoke Quechua throughout the struggle, and always exalted everything Indian. The Indians, exploited not only by the landlords, but also by the authorities and by the well-to-do mestizos (mixed bloods), rose up against all their exploitation."

Indian oppression

"In Cuzco, for centuries," wrote Blanco, "the Indian had slouched along the streets with his poncho and his whispered Quechua; he had never dared, even when drunk, to mount the sidewalk or speak his Quechua out loud with his head held high. He was fearful of the misti (the non-Indian), who was the master of the city. He fled from the authorities or from whoever could force him to do a job for a pittance — or for nothing; or who could force him to sell his few products brought from the countryside at any price offered him."

Blanco shows, in a powerful way, how the Indian struggle against national oppression was linked to his struggle as a peasant. The joining of these two powerful social liberation struggles led to a peasant struggle with a powerful dynamic for fundamental social change in Peru. The author describes a mass peasant meeting in the city of Cuzco.

"The mass meeting put the Indian on top of the monster; a concentration of ponchos in the main plaza, the heart of the city. At the court on the cathedral portico, which dominates the plaza

like a rostrum, the odor of coca and Quechua permeated the air. Quechua, out loud from the throat; Quechua shouted, threatening, tearing away the centuries of oppression; marching down the main streets, before and after the meeting. Windows and doors of the powerful fearfully slammed shut at the advance of the multitudes, aggressive, insulting, threatening, shouting in Quechua truths silenced by centuries of Castilian Spanish. The Indian, master of plazas and streets, of the entire street and the sidewalk. That's what the peasant meetings meant, aside from the specific object for each gathering."

When the peasant masses in the highly organized community of Chaupimayo began to challenge governmental authority with elements of their own power (dual power), they revealed the revolutionary implications of their struggle for elementary democratic rights. "Their decisions were subject to appeal before the General Assembly," writes Blanco. The police came very rarely, but communicated with the union with proper advance notice; for example: 'We have an order to arrest so-and-so, we are going to come on such and such a day; to spare us embarrassment, kindly see that on that day the above-named persons are not at home.' "

Besides administering justice, "we built our schools ourselves and paid the teachers hired by us and certified by the Ministry of Education. Public works were in the hands of the union, which determined their priority. All this, of course, was backed by an embryonic armed force, the developing peasant militia.... The popular assemblies were our parliament, counter-posed to the bourgeois parliament, in whose election the peasants had not even participated, since the great majority were illiterate, and consequently could not vote."

Armed struggle and putschism

The chapter on "The Question of Armed Struggle and Putschism" is very important in the light of current struggles in other parts of the continent. During the course of the struggle, says Blanco, "we have had to combat the ultra-lefts, for whom revolution is synonymous with guerrilla warfare carried on from one or more focos (centres of guerrilla operations). In Peru, several Fidelista groups have sprung up, and the Maoists combine this position with Communist Party opportunism.... The revolutionary struggle is a process through which the masses rise in their organizational level, in their consciousness, in their forms of struggle, guided by their conscious vanguard, by the revolutionary party...

"I emphasize the role of the masses because that is the part the ultralefts do not understand; they believe that what is necessary is for us, the revolutionaries, to understand that the revolution will have to employ violence." In Cuba, says Blanco, "it was Batista who convinced the masses with his brutal tyranny .... In countries like Peru, the masses still have access to a wide range of activities other than military." He argues that the Peruvian masses will learn, as the struggle unfolds, that the government will be obliged to cast off its legalistic mask and openly employ violence in defense of the present system of exploitation. "Only then will the masses understand that there is no alternative to armed struggle," says the author.

Developing this argument further, Blanco explains that "when we refer to means that do not entail violence, we do not mean only legal means, but also 'illegal' mobilizations that the enemy still permits, that he still does not repress with violence.... It is very possible that rural guerrilla

warfare will be one form of the armed struggle in Peru, but we cannot say that it will be the chief form. It seems to us that the more widespread and uniform the movement, the less spontaneous it is, the greater will be the importance of the relatively stable militias, both urban and rural. In our case, it was precisely the isolation that obliged us to convert from the militia to a guerrilla band."

The experience of Hugo Blanco and his comrades also demonstrates the link between the struggle against oppression of a whole class and the struggle for the liberation of women as a super-oppressed sector of the class. "As it was not the custom for women to hunt, the mere photograph of a peasant woman from the zone with a carbine in her hand raised the spirits of the peasants in other unions."

Revolutionary party

Finally, but in no way of lesser importance, Blanco tells us time and time again that the tragic weakness of the struggle lay in the absence of a mass revolutionary party. "Because of the lack of a party organization," writes the author, "all aspects of peasant aid were direct or were channeled through the unions. This was an enormous disadvantage, considering that however well established a mass organization may be, it cannot approach the discipline and discretion of a party... in such situations."

Blanco relates the profound impact of the Cuban Revolution upon the struggling masses of the continent. "It was a tremendous blow not only to imperialism and all exploiting classes, but also to reformism of all varieties. It proved that the Latin American revolution is a socialist revolution, that this revolution will not be made by peaceful means, and that it is indeed necessary to destroy — not reform — the capitalist system . . . . "On the other hand the negative influences were also felt. "We can enumerate the most important characteristics of this negative influence: the underestimation of the Leninist principle of constructing a Bolshevik-type party as a fundamental instrument for making the revolution."

No 'Redeemer'

Blanco subjects himself and his closest comrades to a severe self-criticism on this question. From his prison cell, where the book was written, he had time to reflect. The exploited masses cannot be liberated by a 'redeemer.' "The bourgeoisie, like the exploiting classes of the past, fosters a belief in redeemers. Basically this belief is similar to religious alienation; it is another opiate of the people. Just as they try to maintain the passivity of the exploited masses with the hope of a Holy Saviour and a future paradise, they also point to leader saviours...

"As long as the masses believe in a redeemer, no matter how revolutionary he may be, the bourgeoisie feels relatively secure. This redeemer can be bought off, jailed, or killed; they cannot do this to the masses. On the day that the masses realize that their power lies in themselves, the exploiters are finished. Old Marx was profoundly correct when he said: 'The liberation of the workers will be the task of the workers themselves'."

If the power of the masses lies in themselves, says Blanco, then the revolutionary party "sifts the experiences of the world's people, in organizations suitable for actions by the masses. If there

are different levels of organization whose vanguard is the party, it is precisely because the party brings together the least alienated and most combative sectors of the masses, the sector that believes least in redeemers and that believes most in the power of the masses; the party is not a collection of exceptional individuals who can substitute themselves for the action of the masses."

Land or Death is exciting to read and a profoundly educational experience as a guide to action.

Left gains in Ontario NDP / p. 5

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Canada helps U.S. in Vietnam blackmail

by THE EDITORS

Dec. 19 — A series of actions by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam serves to blast any illusions or hopes that peace is "at hand." On Dec. 17, presidential adviser Henry Kissinger announced that the U.S. had broken off the Paris peace talks until the North Vietnamese agreed to make more concessions. And yesterday, the U.S. resumed the bombing, with the heaviest ever attacks on North Vietnam.

The United States marshalled its entire Southeast Asia B-52 force of 200 planes for unprecedented air raids on the North Vietnamese cities of Hanoi and Haiphong. Hundreds of U.S. fighter-bombers from bases in Thailand and from five aircraft carriers in the Tonkin Gulf joined the raids. U.S. planes had earlier laid more mines in the harbors and rivers of North Vietnam.

Jean Thoraval, an Agence-France-Press reporter in Hanoi, described the raid: "Immense red lights and white flashes lit up the sky . . . Until dawn and with each attack, the effects of the bombing were felt right in the centre of town," he said.

Radio Hanoi reported that one bomb hit a crowded movie theatre in Hanoi, killing nine people and wounding another 60. Thirty-two people were reported killed in Haiphong, with hundreds of homes destroyed.

Behind these moves, on both the diplomatic and military level, stands the real aim of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam — victory by any means necessary.

Having pressured, with the help of Moscow and Peking, the Vietnamese into accepting a cease-fire settlement last October, the U.S. is now out to press its advantage, demanding more concessions from the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front. And Canada is deeply implicated in the renewed U.S. aggression.

Kissinger explained the U.S. action in breaking off the Paris negotiations at a Dec. 16 Washington news conference. He blamed the breakdown on two substantial factors: firstly, that the North Vietnamese have resisted U.S. attempts to establish the Saigon regime as having complete sovereignty over South Vietnam, pointing out that Vietnam is one country; and secondly, that the Vietnamese have balked at a U.S. plan for a four-power, several thousand-strong supervisory force to be in place in Vietnam at the time of a cease-fire.

Kissinger told the news conference that "the North Vietnamese perception is that the total force should be no more than 250, of which nearly half should be located at headquarters; that it would be dependent for its communications, logistics and even physical necessities, entirely on the party in whose area it was located. So it would have no jeeps, no telephones, no radios of its own; that it could not move without being accompanied by liaison officers of the party that was to be investigated."

The Vietnamese are more than justified in opposing the U.S. proposal for the supervisory force. Such a foreign intervention could not only play a criminal, counter-revolutionary role in Vietnam itself — determining boundaries to the advantage of the Saigon regime; covering up Thieu's bloody repression of all dissent; blocking the supply of arms to the guerrilla forces but not to the regime; justifying rigged elections; etc. — but also plays a crucial role in disarming world public opinion as the Vietnamese struggle is left open for the consolidation of the Thieu regime and renewed bombing by the U.S.

VIETNAMESE OPPOSITIONISTS. Thousands of opponents of the Thieu regime have been rounded up in recent months.

Under tremendous blows from U.S. bombing, combined with the monstrous betrayal of their cause by the Soviet Union and China, the Vietnamese have been forced to make a series of important concessions — including some sort of international supervisory force. Now combined forces are out to impose a powerful supervisory force on the Vietnamese, far beyond what they are willing to accept.

The Canadian government is using its independent world position to strengthen the aggressor's hand, backing up U.S. blackmail. Kissinger's plan for a large, well-equipped and independent force closely corresponds to External Affairs minister Sharp's "conditions" on

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Editorial

Speak up Mr. Lewis

With the resumption of U.S. terror bombing of North Vietnam, and with Canada deeply implicated in plans for an international supervisory force in Vietnam, one would assume that the leadership of Canada's labor party would have something to say. With its official position as adopted at a number of conventions, opposed to Canada's diplomatic and material complicity in the war, one would think that the NDP would speak out forcefully against any further Canadian intervention in the war.

But this has not been the case. To date, neither federal leader David Lewis nor any of his caucus colleagues have uttered a word of protest as the Canadian government prepares public opinion for the entry of Canadian troops into the war.

One federal MP, Andrew Brewin, actually spoke in favor of Canadian intervention at a Toronto policy convention last month. Brewin argued stubbornly against a Left Caucus resolution that opposed the sending of Canadian troops.

But the ranks of the NDP are speaking out forcefully against Canadian intervention. The British Columbia NDP convention passed unanimously the following resolution: "That the NDP of B.C. opposes the use of Canadian peacekeeping troops in Vietnam." A petition circulated at the convention urging the federal caucus to oppose the use of Canadian troops was signed by more than 750 NDP members.

Bill Dryden, provincial secretary of the Alberta NDP, released a communique on Nov. 10 that read in part: " . . . We should also demand of our government that they end Canadian industrial and diplomatic support for the American war effort, and will not commit Canadian "peacekeeping" forces to the Vietnam arena when that stage of the negotiations is finally reached."

At its Dec. 8-10 convention, the Ontario NDP passed by a two-to-one majority a resolution that stated that since "the presence of Canadian troops would violate the right of the Vietnamese to settle their own affairs, be it resolved that the Ontario NDP opposes categorically the sending of any Canadian 'peacekeeping' forces to Vietnam."

The party ranks have spoken.

Silence at a time when the Canadian government is laying plans for intervention is criminal. David Lewis must speak for the party, which consistently has stood for Vietnamese self-determination, and oppose any and all Canadian intervention. Further, the NDP must commit itself to build a powerful movement of protest against this latest example of Canada's complicity in the war.

No more hangings!

There is a stench of barbarism in the House of Commons these days. On Dec. 29, capital punishment comes back into effect in Canadian law, and the Trudeau government does not plan to deal with it for some time to come.

In 1967, a free vote in Parliament temporarily abolished the death penalty in Canada for a trial period of five years. Now reactionary forces in Canada — primarily the police associations — are calling for the return of the gallows. A public debate has opened, with the government refusing to take any position.

The last hanging in Canada was in 1962, when Ronald Turpin and Arthur Lucas were executed in Toronto's Don Jail. Previous victims of the rope included countless innocent people, and political opponents of the ruling class such as the leaders of the 1837 rebellion and Metis leader Louis Riel.

Proponents of capital punishment invariably argue that it is necessary as a "deterrent" to murder. But there has never been any evidence to sustain that view. Montreal criminologist Dr. Ezzat Abdel Fattah, author of a recent white paper on capital punishment, shows that the increase in criminal homicide is no higher than the general rise in violent crime: "We are living in violent times. The rise in murder is no greater than the rise in alcoholism, drug addiction, divorce, suicide and violent crimes in North America generally. Without a doubt, there would have been a substantial increase in homicides whether the death penalty had been suspended or not," says Fattah.

Capitalist justice is stacked against the working people and the poor. In Quebec alone, from 1964 to 1969, 53 percent of those convicted of murder were illiterate or had not graduated from primary school; 83 percent had not graduated from high school; the overwhelming majority were poor. A disproportionate number of inmates in Canadian prisons are Quebecois and Native. The penal system is a means of repression.

The greatest crime against humanity is the capitalist system, with its oppression and war. Individual crime is only a distorted reflection of the strains of social crises of this diseased and outlived system. These symptoms can't be cured until they are dealt with at the source.

Clearly, the restoration of capital punishment in Canada would be a brutal regression. All those who believe in social justice must oppose it.

But in order to eliminate the source of crime and murder, capitalism itself must be tackled. Only a socialist society can wipe out the inequalities and oppression that is fundamental to capitalist savagery.

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Laxer outlines MISC strategy

James Laxer

by DICK FIDLER

When leaders of the NDP's "Waffle" group split from the Ontario section of the party last August to found the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (MISC), they had high expectations for rapid growth of the new organization. As John Smart, one of the MISC founders put it, "an anti-imperialist movement will bring Canadians to socialism quicker than any other strategy. No other left group in English Canada is committed to independence and therefore no other left group has the potential to grow and to change this country that the Waffle (now MISC) possesses."

Four months later, the MISC boasts a card-carrying membership of several hundred. But its sole public activities have been a couple of meetings on Quebec and industrial closures during the federal election campaign, which attracted audiences of about 200 each; a conference on working women in mid-November; and a three-part series of study classes held recently on the University of Toronto campus. The founding conference of the MISC, originally set for November, has been postponed until some time in the New Year.

A projected newspaper has yet to appear. The only publication issued so far was the MISC's four-page tabloid Election Special, reviewed in the Oct. 23 issue of Labor Challenge. At that time we pointed to what we considered some important problems in the tabloid's political line confirming "the correctness of those who criticized the formation of MISC as a retreat from class-struggle politics through the NDP."

LACKS STRATEGY

"But what is most lacking," we noted, "is any evidence of a strategy to bring about a socialist Canada." What did MISC have to say about class politics, about the NDP, about the trade unions and the various independent radicalizing movements?

"A Socialist Strategy for Canadian Independence" was the topic of MISC leader Jim Laxer's speech to a MISC study class of about 50 persons Dec. 10.

Laxer began his speech with the observation that any socialist strategy must start with an understanding of the reality of the struggle between labor and capital, "the central contradiction of all societies." How were the workers — some 80 percent of the population in Canada, if all wage and salary earners and their families are included — going to come to power?

Until now, he argued, revolutionary developments have occurred mainly in the colonial world. "There has been no move to socialism in the advanced capitalist countries." However, the uneven development of capitalism on a world scale had brought Canada within the ambit of dependent countries and thereby increased the chances for a radicalization of the working class.

'DEPENDENT' COUNTRY

Canadian capitalism, Laxer said, has always been "a particularly difficult elephant to classify." Characterizations range from full imperialist power through to entire dependency. In Laxer's view, the Canadian capitalist class has always been dependent on a foreign imperialist power. As commercial middlemen who amassed their fortunes from exchanging raw or semi-processed materials for manufactured goods from the more developed imperialist metropolis — first Britain, later the United States — this class never developed as a full industrialist capitalist class.

With the massive growth of U.S. investment in Canada after the first world war, the Canadian bourgeoisie was removed from whatever positions of dominance it once enjoyed. Canada, Laxer concluded, must be characterized today as a "dependent capitalist country with a significant but not dominant bourgeoisie."

Dependent on U.S. capital, the Canadian bourgeoisie is "locked into U.S. strategy" such that "no alliance with any section of national capital is conceivable" for Canadian socialists seeking to fight U.S. imperialism, Laxer said. We must therefore reject any "two-stage" conception (first independence, then socialism). "The goals of socialism and independence must be interrelated."

'DE-INDUSTRIALIZATION'

Because the Canadian bourgeoisie is dependent on U.S. capitalism, it is unable to counter the increasingly protectionist U.S. policies signalled by Nixon's Aug. 15, 1971 "New Economic Policy." Yet under the impact of interimperialist competition, the U.S. is proceeding to "de-industrialize" Canada, to reduce this country still further into a simple resource exporter and consumer of foreign manufactured goods.

To support this contention, Laxer cited statistics indicating that a smaller proportion of workers are employed in Canadian secondary manufacturing industry than in the United States, the disparities being significantly greater and rising in durable goods, high technology and scientific and professional employment respectively.

U.S. protectionist pressures in the short run, Laxer said, would result in renegotiation of the Canada-U.S. auto pact to drop or modify Canadian production safeguards. It would also mean intensified efforts by U.S. capitalists to grab at Canadian natural resources the U.S. badly needs. In the longer run, massive Canadian borrowing for projects like the Mackenzie pipeline and the James Bay hydro-electric project (both of which will benefit U.S. big business) will pressure the Canadian dollar toward an upward revaluation, thereby raising the prices of Canadian-produced goods on the world market, lowering their competitiveness, and resulting in a decline in Canada's manufacturing with consequent heavy unemployment.

ORGANIZE COMMUNITIES

For Canadian socialists, Laxer argued, the main challenge was to campaign against Canada-U.S. agreements on resources exports, "showing how resources deals lead to de-industrialization." In addition, socialists should seek to organize "critical groups of people" directly threatened by this U.S. strategy — including entire communities in single-industry or resource-based towns threatened with industrial closure by U.S.-based parent corporations, or public employees, many of them women, who would face wage freezes or phaseout in the branch-plant economy. Ultimately, the aim must be to build a mass socialist party in Canada.

Laxer briefly referred to existing organizations of the working class, such as the trade unions and the NDP, and found them all wanting in the crucial struggle against "U.S. domination." David Lewis's attacks on the "corporate welfare bums" had the NDP "pointing the wrong way," urging a "Herbert Hoover-like economy" with less integration between government and business. Since the AFL-CIO bureaucrats are among the most fervent advocates of U.S. protectionism, it is "very difficult indeed for Canadian workers to expect protection as long as they stay in American unions." Canadian unions have now become a

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"very important strategic question for the Canadian left."

QUEBEC

Laxer addressed two cautions to English-Canadian "anti-imperialists." (MISC partisans shun the designation "nationalist" — a term they reserve for "petty-bourgeois nationalists" like members of the Committee for an Independent Canada.) First, they should respect and defend Quebec's "right to full self-determination," and fight any attempt by the Canadian government to intervene against Quebec's rights. There should be a distinct movement for independence and socialism in each nation, English Canadian and Quebecois.

Secondly, anti-imperialists should have no illusions about the class nature of the Canadian state — a repressive instrument of the ruling class, Laxer stated, although it is a "class controlled by foreign capitalists."

Laxer's thesis — which he also advanced in its essential lines at a Waffle conference last February — will be analyzed more fully in a future issue of Labor Challenge. Suffice it here to raise some important questions not dealt with by Laxer in his presentation.

IMPERIALIST POWER

1) Laxer and the MISC believe that the struggle for socialism in Canada will take form around a struggle for independence from "dependency" on U.S. imperialism. What does it mean to say that Canada is a "dependent" state? Is Laxer referring to the division of the capitalist world between imperialist powers and the colonial and semicolonial countries? In the latter, Marxists have pointed to the progressive implications of a struggle for political and economic independence from world imperialism.

What evidence is there to confirm that Canada has a relationship to the United States similar to that of a colony or semicolony? There is abundant evidence to the contrary, that Canada is an imperialist power in its own right.

CONTROLS STATE

2) While there is a high degree of interpenetration of Canadian and U.S. capital in North America, all the evidence indicates that the Canadian bourgeoisie has a substantial economic base within Canada, concentrated in powerful monopolies, and is in firm control of its own state. It directly controls some 73 percent of industrial assets (1968), according to the Gray report. It has extensive foreign investment (much of it in the United States), and oppresses its own "internal colony," Quebec. Its situation is qualitatively different from that of a colonial bourgeoisie.

DESTROY INDUSTRY?

3) As for the theory that Canada is being "de-industrialized," does not the very weight of U.S. manufacturing investment in Canada — much of it among the most profitable and productive sectors — work against such a scheme? A de-industrialization project, as MISC poses it, would drastically lower Canadian wages and living standards and effectively destroy the largest external market for U.S. goods. Is that in the interests of U.S. capitalists? Moreover, contrary to MISC projections, statistics to this point indicate that the Canada-U.S. wages gap, rather than widening, is tending to close; the rate of closures by U.S. corporations in Canada is not appreciably greater than among Canadian-owned corporations, etc. Can socialists, then, base their strategic projections on a hypothesis for which little or no evidence as yet exists?

CANADIAN UNIONS

4) When socialists have supported autonomy for Canadian trade unions, it has been as part of the struggle for rank-and-file internal democracy in the unions. Laxer, however, poses all-Canadian unions in a quite different context — suggesting that Canadian workers can only fight the support of AFL-CIO bureaucrats for U.S. protectionism by breaking from the class organizations they share with their American brothers and sisters. Such a policy, posed as a strategic question or principle, is not inconsistent with the interests of the Canadian bourgeoisie and the Canadian labor bureaucrats who are under strong pressures to line up with the Canadian government's bargaining stance in trade negotiations with the U.S. government. Socialists must counterpose the international solidarity of labor to all policies that would identify the interests of the workers with the interests of the capitalist state.

MISC vs. THE NDP

5) In answer to a question from the audience, Laxer dismissed the NDP as a "trade-union leadership party," implying it was irrelevant to a socialist strategy. Yet that same weekend the Ontario NDP convention had been the arena for a strong fight by socialists in the Left Caucus, who carried forward the struggle abandoned by the Waffle leadership when they moved to set up the MISC.

Among the class-struggle demands the Left Caucus counterposed to the reformist politics of the trade union-NDP brass was a resolution adopted by the convention, committing the NDP to oppose the use of Canadian troops to police a Vietnam ceasefire. Solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution was not mentioned in Laxer's projection of a strategy for independence — a strange omission for a movement that claims to be consistently "anti-imperialist."

It is difficult to see how the MISC, with its claimed membership to this point of four or five hundred, can hope to build a mass socialist party without confronting and exposing the present leaders of the class where they are — including the "international" unions and the New Democratic Party.

OTHER PROBLEMS

6) And how does the concept of a struggle for Canadian independence square with Laxer's support of the Quebecois struggle for independence directed against the oppression by the Canadian state which denies them the right of national self-determination? What does it contribute to the struggles of native peoples and Acadiens for self-determination, or other struggles which confront the capitalist system and thereby the Canadian capitalist state which upholds it — labor struggles, womens liberation, student struggles, etc.?

These and other problems in the MISC strategy will be discussed in subsequent issues.

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Ontario NDP convention

Left Caucus wins increased support

by MARK GANS

The left wing is alive and well in the Ontario NDP.

Barely a half-year since the Waffle was purged at Orillia, the left re-emerged with surprising vigor as the Left Caucus at the Party's provincial convention in Toronto Dec. 8-10.

The left's unexpected strength, in the wake of the exodus of the majority of the Waffle from the Party, clearly startled the Party brass and the capitalist media.

"Plainly it was the ghost of Christmas past. Embarassingly it was the ghost of Christmas present, and, chillingly for the NDP, it showed every promise of being the ghost of Christmas yet to come," commented the Toronto Globe and Mail.

That was laying it on a bit thick. But beneath the obvious desire of the media to create an exaggerated impression of an NDP still bedevilled by a noisy, radical left, lay the recognition that the caucus was able to consistently gain the support of almost a third of the convention's 1300 delegates. In two debates, on Vietnam and women's liberation, the Left Caucus position was able to carry the convention.

The mood of dissent and openness to socialist ideas among convention delegates made a mockery of provincial leader Stephen Lewis's claim before the convention that "internal difficulties were a thing of the past." The Left Caucus helped to mobilize that dissention against the leadership.

photo by Arnie Min

ONTARIO NDP CONVENTION. Strength of Left Caucus belied claims by former Waffle leaders that NDP is not open to socialist ideas.

From the outset, the caucus sharply polarized debate. It forced the party leadership to alter the first morning's agenda by including a 20 minute debate on Vietnam, which it used to win delegates to a motion opposing a Canadian peacekeeping force.

Later in the convention, the caucus narrowly missed amending a leadership proposal to increase the taxes of the resource industry in favour of outright nationalization.

The caucus also carried strong debates on housing policy, where it posed public ownership of the housing industry against the reformist leadership's feeble scheme to set up a land bank for urban development; on women, where it urged the establishment of a permanent NDP women's commission to forge links between the party and the women's liberation movement and fight for women's rights in the party; and on a proposed Party anti-strikebreaking campaign, where it called for mass action by the workers going beyond the narrow confines of the leadership's parliamentary lobbying.

The most contentious debate of the convention, however, was initiated outside of the Left Caucus, by a labor caucus of rank-and-file union militants seeking to ban parent labor organizations from appointing delegates to NDP proceedings in the name of their local affiliates. The resolution was aimed particularly at many Steelworkers staff bureaucrats who are appointed to conventions by the union apparatus rather than by workers on the job.

That this was striking at the heart of the trade union bureaucracy's control of the Party was evident from Lewis's later statement to a post-convention press conference that the resolution "represented a more serious challenge to the Party than the Waffle had."

That recognition underlay Lewis's ill-timed and arrogant intervention into the debate after delegates had approved the resolution. "I urge you to reconsider the matter," Lewis said, "because I don't think you realize what you've done."

He followed this with an evening of intensive lobbying, and when the convention reconvened the following morning, chairman Gordon Vichert reopened debate by declaring that the previous day's resolution had been "out of order." With its strays safely shepherded back into the fold, the leadership's position carried, amid noisy disruptions and protest from the floor.

Lewis's cynical manoeuvering did little to check his waning popularity in the Party. Of 1,060 votes cast for Party leader, 184 were deliberately spoiled, and 124 went to perennial →p.2

photo by Arnie Mintz

PETER HORBATIUK. Left Caucus leader.

photo by Arnie Mintz

[illegible]E PENNER. Left Caucus member was elected to Ont. NDP

"protest" candidate Douglas Campbell — a stinging rebuff in a convention which did not feature a serious leadership contest.

Discontent was also reflected in the 300-400 votes the Left Caucus polled in debates and in voting for its nominees for Party office, and in the multiplicity of caucuses which characterized the convention. In addition to the Left and labor caucuses, there were separate caucuses of women, teachers and Franco-Ontariens, each of which had their own special grievances against the bureaucracy.

photo by Arnie Mintz

WOMEN'S RIGHTS was key issue for Left Caucus. Here Left Caucus spokeswoman Liz Barclay addresses the convention.

The existence of the caucuses, the fractious atmosphere of the convention, the low vote polled by Lewis, would appear to indicate that a rebellious mood exists in the party, and that it is by no means united behind a leadership which is still trying to wash its hands of the blood of the Waffle.

Unlike the past period, however, when discontent was generalized politically around a single pole — the Waffle — dissent at this convention was diffuse, expressed through a variety of caucuses, and often organizational in character, turning, for example, on questions of raising the party dues, Lewis's "personality," and the weight of the trade unions in the party structure. While caucus influence radiated through the convention, its meetings of 75-100 delegates were considerably smaller than those held by the Waffle at the peak of its support.

Caucus organizers are confident, however, they will be able to organize much of the sentiment they tapped during convention debates.

"It's a process," said Peter Horbatiuk of Toronto Beaches-Woodbine riding, one of the leading spokespersons of the Left Caucus. "Party members have to see us as a viable alternative to the right wing bureaucrats, rather than as a ginger group, before they join us. That doesn't happen in three days at one convention.

"They've got to become more familiar with our program and strategy."

The Left Caucus program for the party was outlined to the delegates by Steve Penner of Toronto who polled close to 400 votes in a losing bid for the Party presidency, and by Heather Jon Moroney of Peterborough, the group's unsuccessful nominee for party secretary. Penner was later elected to the 26-member provincial executive, the sole representative of the Left Caucus to crack the tight leadership slate.

"The leadership of this party has shown itself to be completely inadequate to provide a clear socialist alternative to the bankrupt politics of the parties of the corporations," Penner charged.

"During the federal election, David Lewis said the corporations were not the enemy.

"But ask the people of Northern Ontario who are faced with pillage of their resources by greedy corporations.

"Ask autoworkers faced with increasing speedups and worsening conditions of work whether corporations are the enemy.

"Ask the people of Eastern Ontario who are living in poverty because capitalism is unable to provide balanced and equitable growth who the enemy is," Penner stated.

Moroney told delegates the first thing she would do as party secretary would be "to request all ridings to immediately link up with union locals, tenants, students, consumers, women's groups, and so on in their communities and actively participate in their day-to-day struggles.

"Because our concept of the role of party secretary is a political and not an administrative one, we see the secretary's role as going beyond filing membership cards or hiring extra organizers at election time.

"We see the secretary encouraging a lively process of internal discussion and debate in the party — starting with the establishment of a weekly labor paper — and throwing the weight of the party behind the extraparliamentary movements and struggles that are exploding daily around us."

In coming months, the caucus will systematically begin promoting its ideas in the party. It plans to issue a regular newsletter, convene a provincial conference of its supporters in early 1973, and begin organizing across the country in preparation for the next federal NDP convention.

Its future would appear to lie primarily in the new generation of Party militants, many of whom surfaced for the first time in the various caucuses at the convention.

They are, for the most part, young workers, women's liberationists, teachers, government workers, Franco-Ontariens, who have in some cases come out of the storm centers of the class struggle in Canada. They are looking for radical answers to the exploitation, inequality, racism, and sexism that are built into capitalist society.

With capitalism in crisis, the reformist leadership of the NDP has absolutely nothing to offer. All it could propose as its "major" contributions to the convention were mild patchwork schemes — intended to rationalize capitalism rather than change it — calling for community health centers, land banks to hold and lease land for development in urban areas, better day care centers, and noise pollution control laws.

labor Challenge #70 Dec 1972

Phony reformers sweep Vancouver

NDP posed only alternative

by PHIL COURNEYEUR

TEAM — A pro-capitalist liberal reform party — swept the polls in Vancouver's Dec. 13 civic election taking 8 of 10 council seats and electing Art Phillips as mayor by a landslide 77.7 percent of the vote. TEAM — The Electors Action Movement — buried the so-called Non-Partisan Association (NPA) which has ruled City Hall since 1937.

The big swing to TEAM, reflecting in part a trend seen in other civic elections across Canada with the election of reform-oriented bourgeois candidates such as David Crombie in Toronto, left the candidates of the NDP and the Committee of Progressive Electors (COPE) trailing far behind.

In the mayoralty race, NDP candidate Brian Campbell got 11,275 votes compared with TEAM's Phillip's 63,516. Agnes Dennis, running for COPE, got 5,957 votes.

Well-known COPE alderman Harry Rankin won re-election with the second highest result, 43,363. He took in almost half of the 92,218 votes scored by all ten of the COPE aldermanic candidates.

No candidates from the NDP slate were elected to council. Together the ten candidates polled 84,269 votes, ranging individually from a high of 15,920 down to 4,493.

The election results indicated that the majority of voters continued the longstanding pattern of voting for prominent individuals, disregarding slates. The only real trend evident in the election, in terms of slates, was for TEAM — seen by many thousands fed up with the corrupt NPA machine as the only viable alternative and suitably backed by big business as the "second horse in the stable."

The decision of the NDP to enter the election with a full slate marked a significant turn towards establishing a clear-cut working class alternative to big business in Vancouver civic politics. The NDP, Canada's labor party, has yet to seriously move out on the civic level and expose the fact that partisan Liberal and Tory politics are as alive as worms in woodwork on the civic level.

As NDP aldermanic candidate Peter Dent put it — "Civic politics are partisan politics and we are asking other organizations, who are you?"

While it was clear to most working people in Vancouver what the decrepit NPA stood for, illusions ran wild about the nature of TEAM (which many right wing NDPers had backed when it ran in 1970) and also the nature of COPE.

COPE, an organization floated by Harry Rankin as a "coalition of progressive minded individuals," got off the ground three years ago based on the illusion that class issues were not relevant to city politics because City Hall had no real powers. All that was required, according to Rankin, was to put good men and progressive-minded people in council in order to concentrate on realizeable progressive reforms.

In 1970, COPE won the backing of the Vancouver Labor Council and several local unions. This year, the entry of the NDP with a full slate cut across this type of "friends of the working man" type of politics. The B.C. Federation of Labor backed the NDP campaign. The Vancouver Labor Council, heavily influenced by the Communist party trade union bureaucrats, backed off the question — extending support only to Rankin on the grounds of "his proven record." It extended no support either to the NDP or to COPE.

The question which COPE evades is unity for what and of whom. The NDP, a working class party, poses a class alternative upon which the "left" can unite. COPE — responsible at most to a few individuals who control it — represents neither the labor movement, nor the party of labor, the NDP, which functions on the provincial and federal plane and has now made moves to extend itself in the civic arena.

There were few differences in program however between the NDP and COPE, a factor which left many confused as to the differences between them, and as to whether or not either of them offered a programmatic alternative to big business. The NDP confined itself to such issues as calling for a ward system, "neighborhood government," opposition to the developers — blurring the important class struggle issues and failing to utilize the campaign to show the links between what are called civic issues and the capitalist system as a whole.

NDP MAYORAL CANDIDATE
Brian Campbell

The NDP entry into the civic arena must be utilized by the party and the labor movement as more than simply an electoral contest. The NDP, which posed itself as an alternative for working people and the poor, must develop a clear cut anti-capitalist program related to civic problems. To build itself on the civic plane it must step up its grass roots activities in support of the many struggles of the oppressed in the city — from tenants to welfare groups, and the unemployed; women's rights issues to those of teachers and students within the educational system.

Labor and the NDP can have absolutely no confidence in the council that was elected. For all the reform image pasted over TEAM, there is little that distinguishes it from the big business NPA which it replaced. There is really only one alternative to them — it carries on in the ranks of the labor movement and its party, the NDP.

Women and insanity

labor Challenge

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ZELDA FITZGERALD. In 1931, after her first breakdown.

Women and insanity

The sexual revolution has not freed women
(From Labor Challenge, December 1972)

by KATIE CURTIN

You have one baby, I have two
You should sit on a rock off Cornwall
and comb my hair, I should wear tiger pants, I should have an affair
We should meet in another life, we should meet in the air
Me and you Meanwhile there's the stink of fat and baby crap
I'm doped and thick from my last sleeping pill
The smog of cooking, the smog of hell
Now l am silent, hate up to my neck.

Sylvia Plath

The author of the above lines committed suicide. She was just one victim of a society that drives so many women into the abyss of mental despair — through the quiet horrors of marriage and the family and through the destruction of women's creativity in the monotony and confinement of the home. Yes, as Molly says in *The Golden Notebook* by Doris Lessing "this country is full of women going mad all by themselves." Women outnumber men by three to two in private psychiatric treatment. Studies of the general population show that women suffer to a far greater degree than men do from mental problems and maladjustment.

No woman is able to escape the destructive effects of the role she is socialized into. This is a role of inferiority, of subordinating one's ego to men, of being passive and dependent, seeking identity only through men and children. It is to be a sex object and child producer, to relegate your mind to second place, it is to be confined within the narrow limits of the home. It is to seek fulfillment in sex and orgasm, yet at all costs to be a virgin before marriage.

The negative psychological impact on women is apparent in the earliest days of childhood. Phyllis Chesler in her article "Men Drive Women Crazy" states that the main reason little girls need psychiatric care is "because of the excessive fears and worries, lack of confidence and feelings of inferiority." Yet these are precisely the traits which women are trained to have!

Severe mental problems develop from the repression of women's sexuality and this society's hypocritical insistence on the virginity of women before marriage. Stekel, in his work "Frigidity in Women" gives many examples of single women undergoing mental crises when they lost their virginity.

Fear or guilt

But it is not only the single woman who suffers from this cult of virginity, but also married women. Years of inculcation that sex is bad and immoral instills in many women a permanent fear or guilt about their sexuality.

The denial of abortion and adequate birth control information and devices in a society which possesses the technological capacity to free women from their biology is one of the more blatant aspects of her present oppression. A woman's fear of getting pregnant may leave her incapable of enjoying sex. The horrors of illegal abortion and the psychological distress produced by an unwanted child are incalculable.

What is particularly ironic about the emphasis on virginity and the sexual repression of women is that it is in sex that she is supposed to find her ultimate fulfillment. The sexual revolution has its terrifying contradictions. Now a woman is damned if she does or is damned if she doesn't. Whenever she opens a book, reads a magazine, listens to the radio or watches the TV, the message is sex. Sex is the answer to all problems, the pseudo-magical act which makes an otherwise empty life worthwhile, the golden dream of the advertisers. Yet the double standard still remains — the dichotomy between good women and bad.

Sexual revolution has not freed women

The sexual revolution has not freed women but made them better sex objects. It has reinforced the ideology that a woman's role in life is to attract a man, that what she looks like is what counts, not her mind. The result can be devastating — it killed Marilyn Monroe.

Marilyn Monroe was the queen of America's sex objects, the all time pinup girl, the media's ideal of the "dumb blonde." Her suicide shocked the world. After all, didn't she have all that a woman could desire — fame, beauty, money and men? No. Marilyn wanted to be more than a beautiful toy in the hands of the big film industries. The last part of her life was a struggle to be treated seriously, to professionalize her acting. The media responded, callous and mocking. *Time Magazine* called her ambition irrational saying "her acting talents run a needless second to her truest virtues; her moist come-on look, moist half-closed eyes and moist half-opened mouth." In her last interview before her death Marilyn protested against those who wanted to reduce her to a commodity. "A sex symbol becomes a thing, I hate to become a thing." The refusal of society to treat her as a person with a multitude of facets and potentialities destroyed Monroe.

Central to women's insanity in this society is that she is faced with mutually exclusive choices, none of which can fulfill her wholly. She, unlike the man, is told that she can't have both a career and a family. If she remains single, she is told she can have no truly satisfying personal life. If she has sex before marriage she may be popular, but the man always ends up marrying the "good" woman. She can be mistress or wife, have love or security.

Anxiety of single women

A single woman may be able to carve out for herself a more satisfying life; but her ostracism from the rest of society may cause her extreme anxiety. She faces constant discrimination and discouragement if she tries to advance beyond the traditional mind-destroying jobs that are open to women. Everything is designed to break the spirit of the independent woman and it is seldom that she is able to define herself outside her relationships with men. Doris Lessing in the novel *The Golden Notebook* gives an extremely sensitive portrayal of the plight of single women. The

novel centres around Ana, a writer who tries to be an independent woman, to have relationships with men but not to let her life hinge on them. She fails — society's pressures are too strong. After a broken love affair she slowly disintegrates. "Who am I, Ana?" she asks herself again and again. Her man gone — and with him her whole identity and reason for existence.

But the other alternative — marriage and the family — can be equally disastrous. In fact many studies report a higher percentage of mental illness among married women than among those who remain single. One such study found that many more married women were bothered by depression and felt that they were going to pieces. It also showed three times as many married women as single women had severe neurotic symptoms.

Something is drastically wrong with the traditional role of women. Being a wife and mother is simply not enough — every woman needs an identity of her own. Her present vicarious living through her husband and children only damages herself and those she loves. The isolation in the home with only the children to talk to all day and the menial tasks required of her dooms her to an eternal childlike existence.

Betty Friedan in her much acclaimed book *The Feminine Mystique*, writes about woman after woman who are driven to seek psychiatric care because of feelings of emptiness and loss of any motivation to live. Time upon time in interviews with housewives she was told "I feel empty, somehow incomplete," or "I feel as if I didn't exist" or "I feel like crying without reason."

Observing this disturbing phenomenon, a Boston analyst commented: "It is true, there are too many more women patients than men. Their complaints are varied, but if you look underneath, you find this underlying feeling of emptiness. It is almost like nothingness. The situation is that they are not pursuing any goals of their own."

A woman who tries to break out of this empty existence and pursue her own interests is blocked at every step. Not only is she accused of neglecting her children, but often her husband deeply resents it, seeing it as a threat to him, as competition.

Zelda Fitzgerald

One striking example is Zelda Fitzgerald, whose husband Scott resented every attempt of hers to become a professional dancer and writer. Whatever she did, Scott believed she did it out of competitiveness with him. He saw her writings as a particular threat, for she drew on the same experiences as he did for writing material. He did everything he could to prevent her from writing or to belittle her work. He wanted a woman whose primary concern in life would be his interests. Striving to be his ideal stifled Zelda; she longed to be no longer dependent on him. She spent her last years in and out of mental institutions. The central conflict that led to her mental illness was her inability to break her relationship with her husband, and yet her need to be independently creative.

But it is perhaps with the coming of middle age that a woman enters the most painful period of her life. For it is at this time that she loses her most important social roles — those of mother and sex object. However degrading these roles were, at least they gave her a social function. Now she

is an anachronism in a world that no longer needs her. As a result of this many women at menopause suffer a severe loss of self-esteem and some collapse into a state of clinical depression.

It is not only that women undergo far greater mental stress than men, but the nature of their mental problems is different. Women's insanity tends to be self-destructive. If she does vent her feelings on others it is most often against close family members. On the other hand the majority of men do not internalize their frustration but take it out on others. Men are more likely to attack authority figures such as policemen or doctors.

The differences of nature and degree of female and male insanity reflects the oppression of women in this society. Men have more alternatives open to them: they do not suffer stress from the conflicts of career or marriage and children. They can have both. They are taught and given the chance to define their identities through their own creative endeavour, not through others. They have more self-confidence than women because they have been told they are superior. Studies show that it is the woman who has to make the personal adjustment in marriage, not the male. Men do not suffer the brunt of the social stigma when there is an illegitimate baby nor the fears of pregnancy that make many women frigid. Certainly they don't have the same phobias about virginity for the double standard works in their favor. Neither are they treated as sex objects rather than as persons. There are no male Monroes. That is not to say that men don't have serious mental problems stemming from their roles in this society, but rather to cut across the myth that men and women are equally oppressed.

Society, not the individual, at fault

We are told by many psychiatrists that it is the individual woman who is to blame — that mental illness is caused by deviating from the norms of this society. Steeped in the narrow patriarchal prejudices of today, they envision women's fulfillment coming from marriage, children, and the vaginal orgasm. If only women would accept this role they would be assured of happiness. These psychiatrists never question whether society might be at fault. And so they miss the fundamental point; it is precisely these roles they advocate that are instrumental in the creation of women's insanity.

No, it is not the individual woman who must adjust. To fit in is to become an empty shell of lost potentialities. It is only in struggling against the insane roles imposed upon us that we can become truly sane. It is the feminists branded by psychiatrists of Freud's ilk as neurotic and frustrated, who in fact point the way to a new future.

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Women struggle is international

BELGIUM

Women packed an auditorium in Brussels Nov. 11, for a full day of speeches and discussion on the liberation of women. Between 5,000 and 6,000 women attended this unprecedented event — the first major activity of the Belgian women's liberation movement.

Authors Simone de Beauvoir and Germaine Greer spoke, initiating a lively discussion on abortion. De Beauvoir came to Brussels just after having testified at the Paris abortion trial of Michelle Chevalier and three other women reported in the last issue of Labor Challenge.

An estimated 150,000 Belgian women are forced to resort to illegal abortion each year, although the wealthy go to Britain and the Netherlands. Contraceptive pills are also illegal in Belgium.

The revolutionary socialist weekly, La Gauche, described the conference as "tremendous" and "a gigantic discussion." The event, said La Gauche, organ of the Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International, "was, at one and the same time, the first stage of a movement in full growth, the first demonstration of women as women, and the coming together of many ideas — sometimes differing, sometimes congruent — of all the independent feminist groups that were able to compare their experiences and activities in the course of organizing 'F' (journee des femmes — women's day)."

The conference, which involved a broad spectrum of women's organizations, tentatively projected a women's liberation demonstration for March or April.

La Gauche reported that the "exchange of ideas and experiences touched on diverse questions: women's jobs (since only 27 percent of women work outside the home, this question was the subject of the greatest discussion), abortion, contraception, maternity, paternity, childcare centers, and the double working day of women."

BRITAIN

About 1500 women attended Britain's fourth and largest national women's liberation conference in London, Nov. 4-6. The weekend conference reflected the tremendous growth since the first national confference of 400 women in February 1970.

The four basic demands that have been adopted by the women's movement in Britain are: free contraception and abortion on demand, equal educational and job opportunities, equal pay, and free childcare facilities.

Workshops discussed important questions facing the movement: Is it necessary for the women's movement to make demands and build campaigns? Is women's oppression based on male domination? Is it necessary to organize working women in unions? Can women's liberation be achieved without a socialist revolution?

The conference agreed to campaign against recent government proposals to replace allowances now paid to mothers with tax relief for husbands, thus reducing the state's responsibility for care of children and reinforcing the role of the family in this task.

An abortion and contraception campaign workshop reaffirmed a woman's right to choose whether or not to have children. Two proposals for developing the campaign were to set up self-help clinics and health centers staffed by women and to build mass actions to pressure the government to provide the necessary facilities. A national conference on the abortion and contraception campaign was announced for January.

The conference endorsed the International Tribunal on Abortion, Contraception and Forced Sterilization to take place in New York, Mar. 9-11. The tribunal will hear evidence from women on the experiences endured because the laws prevent them from controlling their reproductive lives.

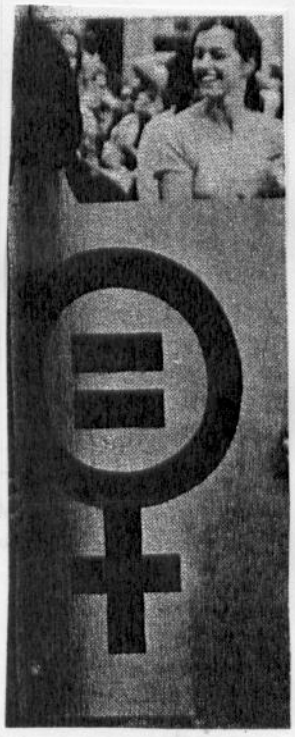
A representative from the American Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), and a participant in the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws described their activities. Greetings were given by women's liberation representatives from Ireland, Spain, France, Italy, Holland, the United States, Canada, Australia, and Israel; and reports from Belgium and South Africa were heard.

QUEBEC

More than 300 attended a Montreal teach-in on women's liberation Dec. 2-3. The discussions of six workshops on the family, work, sexuality, ideology and social conditioning, legal status, the union movement, and the political struggle was brought together with a final assembly.

One of the main conference organizers, Denise Julien, professor of history at the University of Quebec, in an interview in the trade union-financed weekly newspaper Quebec-Presse, affirmed that "There are some real struggles that must be carried now on the specific oppression of all women." Among the major struggles she included abortion on demand, contraception, childcare "open day and night and financed by the state," equal pay and equal opportunity, and an end to discrimination in education.

The teach-in showed, particularly through experiences related by mothers, how the family confines women with children to the house and leaves them to raise children all alone. One workshop talked about the need for socializing household tasks with collective childcare, meal and laundry services. Another spoke of contraception as "an elemental means of women's liberation." Two women trade union representatives spoke to the workshop on the union movement.



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Rising student militancy

Anti-cutback fight broadens

by JOHN WILSON

The massive government cutbacks and attacks on previously won student gains have recently led to a sporadic outburst of protests and struggles which indicate the potential for mobilizing mass opposition to the offensive of the governments.

The most successful struggle, which ended in a partial victory for the students, took place at Memorial University of Newfoundland in St. John's. After the ten day occupation in November, involving 600 students at its height, president and vice-chancellor Lord Taylor was forced to retreat in his bid to smash the student union. The board of regents had arbitrarily decided to end the compulsory checkoff of student union fees. Now collection of these fees will be continued pending a referendum of the student body. Taylor was also forced to abandon his arrogant refusal to meet with student leaders while the occupation continued.

The occupation began after a meeting of 3,500 students, nearly half the student body. In a referendum held during the occupation, 91 percent of the students voting supported the struggle. While the checkoff issue was the focus of the struggle slogans such as "student power" posted in the occupied administration building showed a crystallization of general student resentment against the authoritarianism of the administration. Despite its tretreat, the administration dealt an important blow to the student union by imposing voluntary membership on it.

At the Regina campus of the University of Saskatchewan, an occupation by around 100 students of Arts and Science Dean Vaughan's office began after a meeting of 1,000 students voted to censure his ruling that mandatory student parity with the administration and faculty was "unconstitutional." Subsequently students also occupied the office of Graduate Studies Dean Van Cleave after campus principal Dr. Archer told them that their demand for parity would not be accepted. The occupations were temporarily called off when Archer made a verbal retreat, claiming he favored greater student and faculty "participation" in campus government and changes in the University Act.

At Regina cutbacks are also an issue, especially staff cutbacks, over which students want control. The students warned that while implementation of their demands is negotiable, parity as such is not.

In Quebec the government has, for the time being, shelved drastic changes in the regulations for the Cegeps (community colleges) designed, among other things, to give the school authorities the right to require the entire student body to reregister in the event of student struggles. This move was called off after the Front d'Etudiants du Quebec (Quebec Student Front) began plans for a general strike of the Cegeps and a Quebec-wide mass demonstration. Another important struggle in Quebec has been the month-long occupation of Cegep Ste-Hyacinthe demanding the reinstatement of a professor who was fired for her "insubordination." This struggle has rallied support across Quebec from student and labor organizations.

In Ontario 500 students protested education cutbacks on Nov. 21 at the legislative building in Queen's Park. This demonstration, organized despite the abstention and opposition of several major student councils, followed an Ontario-wide referendum, with 40,000 student voting, 90 percent opposed to the cutbacks and two thirds voted for a fee strike.

In Quebec, Regina and Ontario members of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes played an important role in leading these struggles by putting forward clear demands and a mass action perspective. The YSers on the Trent Student Council played a key role in initiating the Ontario-wide demonstration on Nov. 21.

The government attacks against education and students are deadly serious, reflecting the deepening economic crisis of Canadian capitalism. In this context, the isolation of the struggles from each other is a vital weakness, as is the lack of coordination. It is above all the National Union of Students (formed in November) and the various provincial student federations who should shoulder this responsibility. What is clearly needed is united action around a program of clear demands to counteract the onslaught of the governments and to pose sharply the question of student-faculty-staff control of education.

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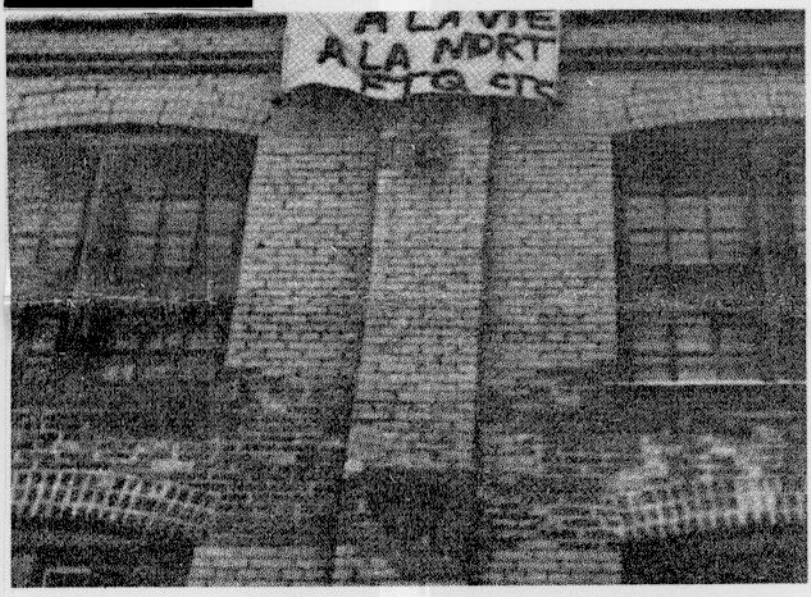

IN LIFE AND IN DEATH. Banner on occupied factory in St. Jerome recalls slogan of pioneer labor organizers 140 years ago.

Workers occupy Quebec factory

by ROBERT DUMONT

"A la vie a la mort" — In Life and in Death, read the banners hanging from the gray walls of Regent Knitting Mills at Saint-Jerome, Que., just north of Montreal. Some 280 workers have been occupying the factory since Nov. 30 to protest mass layoffs by management.

Other banners read Live Freely While Working, Or Die While Fighting ("Vivre libre en travaillant ou mourir en combattant"). They are modelled on the slogans of the French weavers of Lyons, whose revolt in 1831 was one of the first explosions of the international labor movement.

Last Oct. 15, the local Textile Workers Union (FTQ-CLC) in Saint-Jerome signed a letter of agreement with management in which the company agreed to postpone scheduled layoffs until April 30, 1973, and to re-employ some 300 workers already laid off. The Westmount-based company has failed to respect this agreement; the union says more than 130 workers, mostly women, have not been rehired.

Two weeks after the occupation began, company president Marvyn Grover sent individual letters to employees threatening to close the mill, and to fire them if they did not resume work by Dec. 22.

"The occupation will continue as long as the Grovers fail to respect the Oct. 15 agreement and don't rehire everyone," Paul-Andre Boucher, the 27-year-old local union president told Quebec-Presse. "The company is also going to have to reopen sections like the knitting unit it closed at Saint Jerome and reinstalled at its factory in Montreal, where the union is affiliated to the CSD and the working conditions and wages are far below even the little that we get here."

A community committee to support the occupation-strike has been formed in the Saint-Jerome region, hard hit by industrial closures and mass unemployment. The mayor has demanded a government inquiry into the company's activities in all its operations at Saint-Jerome and Montreal.

The strikers' morale is reported to be good. They hold meetings every day in the firm's cafeteria, and have organized "industrial tours" of "their" factory for relatives and local neighbors.

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Behind the coup in Chile

- Lessons of the coup
- The nature of Allende's government
- Where Canadian CP goes wrong

Vanguard Publications

League for Socialist Action Statement

Lessons of the coup

The right-wing military junta that has seized power in Chile is ruthlessly hunting down its political opponents. Worker and peasant militants and refugees from the prisons and torture chambers of all the military regimes in Latin America are being rounded up.

One of the greatest gains of the mass movement in Chile was the establishment of that country as a refuge for the persecuted. Exiles from all over Latin America sought and received political asylum in Chile as a result of these gains.

The attempt to turn these exiles over to the butchers and torturers they have escaped from, and to inflict a bloody defeat on the workers' movement in Chile, must not go unanswered. The League for Socialist Action calls for united protest actions against the suppression of democratic rights in Chile, against the victimization of political refugees and Chilean militants.

Such protests should take place in all parts of Canada. A vocal protest in Canada, combined with the protests taking place in Latin America, the U.S., and around the world, can make a significant impact on the treatment of those now being arrested. We urge all supporters of democratic rights to join in and help build these actions.

LEARN THE LESSONS OF DEFEAT!

Along with defending the victims of the reactionary coup, we must learn the lessons it teaches. Not to do so would be to invite new defeats in the future.

Allende came to power during a social crisis and mass upsurge that led to a pre-revolutionary situation in Chile. The Socialist and Communist party leaders argued that it was possible to attain socialism by gradual stages in a bloc with "nationalist" sectors of the Chilean bourgeoisie. They claimed that the electoral victory of Allende proved that an essentially peaceful, electoral road to socialism was possible.

This was a direct denial of the Marxist-Leninist concept that the workers cannot establish socialism without replacing the state apparatus of capitalism with their own apparatus. Workers can achieve this only through a struggle against the capitalist class, both native and foreign. Participation in bourgeois elections can serve only as an adjunct to mass extraparliamentary struggles under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

Marx and Engels believed that the army and police, along with the capitalist state apparatus as a whole, were instruments of capitalist rule. Marx wrote in 1871 that the task of the revolution is not "to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it." (Emphasis in original)

One hundred years later, in 1971, Allende said: "I have absolute confidence in the loyalty" of the armed forces. "Our forces are professional forces at the service of the state, the people . . ." (New York Times, March 28, 1971)

Marx hailed the fact that "the first decree of the (Paris) Commune . . . was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people . . ."

But Luis Corvalan, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, declared in 1970 that the CP opposed proposals to arm the people as being

The socialist alternative

Young Socialists

League for Socialist Action

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...ivalent to showing distrust ...the army." The army, he ...aimed, "is not invulnerable to ...he new winds blowing in Latin America and penetrating everywhere."

ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AROUND THE WORLD

The Communist parties throughout the world hailed Chile as a shining example of the correct road to socialism — as did the capitalist pundits who praised Allende's "moderation" and "commitment to democracy."

The April 28, 1971 New York Times reported that the Soviet Communist Party's specialist on developing countries, Rostislav A. Ulyanovsky, called on colonial and semi-colonial countries to follow Chile's example.

Canadian Communist Party Leader William Kashtan hailed events in Chile as "a democratic revolution paving the way for socialism." (Canadian Tribune, Jan. 26, 1972) Young Communist League Chairman John Bizzell reassured those who were concerned about the role of the armed forces: "The army has agreed to respect the Constitution and the electoral decision of the people in electing the Popular Unity . . . . the army has remained loyal and increasingly so." (Canadian Tribune, Oct. 13, 1971)

The experience of Chile proves that the Marxist analysis of the state and the need for social revolution is correct. It also proves once again that this perspective has been abandoned by the reformist Communist and Social Democratic parties the world over. These parties everywhere are Judas goats, whose main function is to lead the masses to slaughter.

BUILD REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES!

In Chile, large numbers of workers and peasants understood the importance of arming themselves against a right-wing coup. But although Allende warned of a coup, he and his Communist Party allies refused to arm the masses. Tragically, there was no mass revolutionary party willing and able to lead the masses in preparing their own defense.

Except for the small Trotskyist nucleus in Chile, every left group politically supported Allende's popular front, with varying degrees of criticism. Since none of them were willing to repudiate the regime, none were capable of leading in the only action that could have prevented the coup and ensured further revolutionary gains for the Chilean people.

Chile underlines once again the need build mass revolutionary parties in every country, parties which can lead the masses against capitalist oppression, parties which will not yield an inch to the reformism of the "Communists" and Social Democrats.

The League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists in Canada, and the parties and organizations of the Fourth International elsewhere in the world, were alone in analysing the true nature of the Allende regime and explaining the dangers facing the Chilean masses. It is the construction of revolutionary parties based on their program that can prevent such defeats in the future.

Fourth International warned of confrontation

The nature of Allende's government

[The following resolution was passed unanimously by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International at the end of December 1971.]

* * *

Organize Democratic Councils of the Workers, Peasants, Slum Dwellers, and Students!

Struggle for the Arming of the Proletariat and the Formation of a Popular Militia!

Build a Revolutionary Party!

Fourteen months ago, as a result of the September 4, 1970, elections and an agreement between the parties of the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity)* and the Partido Demócrata-Cristiano (Christian Democrats), Salvador Allende was inaugurated as president of Chile and formed a popular front government. This was a major event that all formations both within the country and in the Americas as a whole had to take a stand on. From the beginning it served as a touchstone, revealing the concepts and attitudes of the various currents in the workers' movement. The experiment in Chile is being watched throughout the world, particularly as a test of the efficacy of the electoral, parliamentary, and peaceful road that has been advocated by the reformists as a way of achieving socialism.

In a setting of vigorous mobilizations of opposing social and political forces, the crisis in Chile is becoming increasingly acute. Particularly since the defeat suffered by the masses of Bolivia last August, the contradictions and the struggle in Latin America have come to a focal point in Chile. Thus it is imperative for revolutionary Marxists to grasp the nature of the events, to understand the tendencies that are developing and the issues that are coming to the fore, and to define their position without any ambiguity so as to be able to intervene effectively.

1. The victory of the Cuban revolution — which coincided with the irreversible crisis of the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois revolutionary nationalist movements that marked an entire stage of the political struggle in many Latin American countries — led U.S. imperialism and the indigenous ruling classes to reexamine where they stood. On the one hand, the imperialists stepped up their military preparations, with an eye to the possible danger of revolutionary struggles inspired by the Cuban example; on the other hand, they projected a reformist course the aim of which was to reinforce certain economic sectors considered to be the most dynamic, to favor a shift in the relationship of forces within the ruling classes toward the "new" bourgeois layers, and to broaden, even if but a little, the mass base of the system. This attempt — to which Washington, however, allotted only derisory funds under the so-called Alliance for Progress — ended in total defeat. Within this context, the reformist experiments, or those tending in that direction (for example, Goulart in Brazil, Belaúnde in Peru) were either crushed

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* The Partido Social-Demócrata, Acción Popular Independiente, Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria, Partido Radical, Partido Comunista, and Partido Socialista.

Where Canadian CP goes wrong

by JON COLE

One of the most important aspects of the Marxist theory of revolution is its view of the role and nature of the state. Both Marx and Lenin placed great stress on the fact that the state in a capitalist country is not a neutral arbiter, above society, not an empty flask which could be filled with socialist content, but an instrument of capitalism, inseparable from it. The task of the revolution, Marx wrote is not "to transfer the bureaucratic-military regime from one hand to another, but to **smash** it. . . ." (Letter to Kugelmann, April 12, 1871).

Lenin, commenting on this passage, said "The words 'to smash the bureaucratic-military machine,' briefly express the principal lesson of Marxism regarding the tasks of the proletariat during a revolution in relation to the state. . . ." (The State and Revolution).

It was precisely this "principal lesson of Marxism" that was denied by the Chilean Communist Party and Salvador Allende with their claim that in Chile capitalism could be reformed out of existence, using capitalism's state, and with the support of capitalism's armed forces. They were supported in this gross abandonment of Marxism by the pro-Moscow Communist parties of the world — including the Communist Party of Canada.

Former Young Communist League chairman and leading CP spokesman John Bizzell visited Chile in 1971, reporting back that "Chile has taken a brave step into the future, and as it embarks on the road to socialism it deserves from its friends around the world every bit of support we can muster." (Canadian Tribune, Oct. 13, 1971)

Bizzell reassured those who were concerned that Allende had promised not to interfere with the army: "The army has agreed to respect the Constitution and the electoral decision of the people in electing the Popular Unity. In spite of attempts by the right wing to provoke conflict in the land, the army has remained loyal and increasingly so."

This may or may not be true—and we can leave aside the fact that the middle classes proved to be no supporters of Allende's government. Bizzell entirely leaves out the fact that the army, regardless of the origins of its members, is an instrument of capitalist class rule. It is a fundamental part of the oppressive state apparatus, and as such was and is a bloc to the revolution.

But for Bizzell such problems do not exist. Elsewhere in his article he blithely wrote: "The pinnacles of the economy have been taken over by the state (read the people)."

But the state is NOT "the people." Every work of Marxism-Leninism since 1871 agrees on this. "The state is an organ of class **rule**, an organ for the **oppression** of one class by another" wrote Lenin. The election of Popular Unity did not change one iota the nature of the Chilean state as an instrument of the capitalist class.

The Canadian CP's purely reformist view of Chilean reality was confirmed in an article by Bizzell and Claude Demers in the November-December 1971 Communist Viewpoint. Here they wrote that the election of Popular Unity "set Chile on course to a socialist future."

But this article tried to be a little more scientific. The Popular Unity government "is not a socialist political form at this stage. On the basis of the past and recent history the possibility now exists for the construction of socialism within the new democratic system." And further on: "The class character of the state is not yet the 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' although some of the social, political, and economic features characteristic of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' are present and maturing."

In other words, it is possible to establish the "dictatorship of the proletariat" — that is, to replace the capitalist state with a workers' state — by gradual reforms. This, they argued, was true in Chile in part because "the class background of the military, the attention to the physical material needs of its members and the performance to date of the armed forces in the face of severe provocations by the ultra-right is a fair guarantee of its continued respect for the constitutional integrity of Chile."

The eagerness of the Canadian CP leadership to endorse "the Chilean road" can be easily explained. The Popular Unity was the Chilean experiment in what has been a consistent Communist party program since the 1930s — popular frontism.

The term "popular front" was developed because it sounded like the Leninist concept of the united front. In fact, the Stalinists often use the terms interchangeably. But the united front called for by Lenin was an action front of workers parties to initiate mass action for the specific needs of the working class. For example, while continuing to disagree on other questions, various political currents in the working class can form a united front for defense of workers' meetings against fascist attacks. Or, as has been done in recent years, a united front in support of the Vietnamese peoples' right to self-determination.

A popular front, on the other hand, is an electoral alliance of working class parties with an allegedly "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. This was the course of the Chilean Popular Unity, which included six parties, four of which were not workers' parties. Such a front is built on a least common denominator program — a program that, whatever reforms it may propose, does not transgress capitalist property relations.

No matter how you stretch it, no sector of the capitalist class is in favor of socialism. The popular front inevitably means that the working class parties in the front abandon even the pretext of mobilizing the masses independently in struggles that can lead forward to socialism. It is a means of lulling the working class into inactivity. In country after country — Spain, Indonesia, Guatemala, Greece — the popular front policy has led directly to a military dictatorship, and the brutal smashing of the workers movement.

The Kremlin does not want revolutions — in Canada, Chile, or anywhere else. It wants "peaceful coexistence" — a world detente in which no one rocks the boat and the bureaucrats in Moscow are left alone. The Popular Front policy of alliance with the national bourgeoisie is just an expression on a national level of the Kremlin's policy of detente on an international level. The Chilean CP was simply acting in the interests of Moscow's foreign policy.

The leaders of the Canadian Communist party also follow Moscow's lead faithfully. Their views on Chile confirm once again that there is nothing Marxist or revolutionary about Canadian Stalinism.

— Labor Challenge